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Guarani SM4

[For information on the role of the capitão - captain, chief or leader of the village who is appointed by the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios - see category 624.]

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Guarani SM14

/For information on the role of the capitão -- captain, chief or leader of the village, who is concerned with civil affairs and appointed by the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, see category 624./

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178 To speak of the Caiuás in particular, I believe in a longer
177 existence for this tribe. Whether it will remain in Brazil, how-
167 ever, perhaps appears questionable. During my last visit I was
• 648 aware of a strong tendency toward emigration -- or return mi-
gration? -- to Paraguay. The reason for this is precisely the
threat to tribal life and to the old customs by the continuous ad-
vance of the whites. The Indians know that the surrounding
colonists are casting a covetous eye on the land that belongs to
the Caiuás, and they do not trust the continuance of the Indian
Protective Service. Hence voices are raised in favor of the
free forests of Paraguay. The very Indians who have best
adapted themselves to white culture, who know very well how
to sell their products and are no longer embarrassed in financial
transactions, have also learned from the whites to think in a
practical way and are concerned with the defense of their own
interests.

177 It is only among the old people that one still finds the --
178 typical for the Indian -- otherworldly attitude; only among
[574] them is there the noble hospitality that is still preserved among
the Guarani of Paraguay. The young people, bent on worldly
well-being and money-making, have become egoistical and
avaricious, as they see this, of course, among their white
[648] neighbors. -- In the case of the Caiuás, there is the additional
unfavorable circumstance that their territory is near the little
town of Dourados and that colonists are living all around. The
[797] constant bad example, especially with respect to the imbibing
of alcohol and all kinds of immoral practices, corrupts the
Indian, and the influences of the two missions, /235/ Catholic
and Evangelical, are not strong enough to be able to counteract
this effectively in general. In recent times, under the influence
[668] of the Communist Party, there has been formed among the
Caiuás a group that consciously rejects both missions, but is also
000 alienating itself from its own old gods. /The bibliography is
omitted in the translation; see the foreign text, p. 235./

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101 hungry. The Kayová curer really cures and he
186 even shows the sickness that he pulls out of the
[756] body, but the Guaraní curer is only a thief."

186 Nevertheless the hostility among the diverse subgroups of the
• [648] tribe rarely goes so far as to take the form of open combat. With
reference to the Kaingáng /Caingáng/ and other foreign tribes
the attitude is either one of fear or one of ridicule. It was in
general with lively interest that the engravings and photographs
from anthropological books that I showed them were commented
[101] upon. I frequently heard the name "Tupinambá" for any
Indians of unknown tribe.

For Brazilians of Portuguese origin, or "outside people," there
are various denominations, in general depreciatory; a neutral
one is vyypóre, which I heard among Nandéva of the Paulista
coast. These also call the Negroes "jaguar food," naturally
[825] based on the belief quite widespread in Brazil, that jaguars have
a special predilection for persons of black skin (14).

14. /From p. 23 of the original source./
Buarque de Holanda, 1949, p. 249.

175 The history of the Guaraní in Paulista territory is quite well
known, thanks to the works of Nimuendajú and other investigators.
It is known that among them there are no remnants of the ancient
Tupí of the coast, who had disappeared already in colonial times.
175 They are linked to the migratory currents, coming from the west,
167 that have followed one another since the first quarter of the last
[173] century. The reason for these wanderings is the vyí opá, the
[187] end of the world, prophesied by the doctor-sorcerers. Among
the groups that have come to the coast, Nimuendajú shows the
horde of the Tañiguá /Tanygua/ (1820), the Ognahúva /Oguaniva/
(1820), the Apapokúva /Apapocuva/ (1870), and in addition a
[361] relatively recent group that came in 1912. Over a century ago a
large settlement was founded in Itaporanga, near Itararé, on
land that seems to have been donated by the Baron of Antonina.

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The settlement of Bananal is one of the oldest among those that now exist on the coast of the State of São Paulo.

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It is probable that there are to be found today among the Indians of Bananal descendants of at least three Guarani hordest: Tañiguá, Apapokúva, and Oguahuíva. In 1949 the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios re-established the native post that formerly existed at Bananal.

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In recent years the village, which had at its disposal a patrimony of 340 alqueires, has been showing many signs of dissolution. Numerous factors have contributed to this, among them the tendency for great spatial mobility, together with phenomena of social disorganization stemming from the contact

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and crossing with elements of the coastal population. In Bananal in June of 1946 I counted 57 inhabitants (including Indians, caboclos married to Indian girls, and mestizos), forming ten families /Port. fogos, fires, hearths, families, houses/ in all. In November of the same year there were only nine families, among which were distributed only 27 individuals: 16 Indians, 2 caboclos, and 9 mestizos. Some of the inhabitants stay at São Vicente or at some other point close to some coastal center. In 1948 almost the entire village stayed at kilometer 10 of the Santos-Juquá railway for some months. The Indians had abandoned their homes because of an accident in which a member of the community had lost his life. They also leave at times for long periods for "health treatments," i.e., to consult some famous curer. Not infrequently the men absent themselves for weeks at a time to work on some fazendas in the Itanhaém region.

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Everything shows a state of increasing detribalization. The number of Indian girls married to caçaras /a term in São Paulo for the caboclos who live on the coast/ and living outside the community seems to be relatively high already. The mixed marriages with caboclos and caçaras in the boom of the community tend to increase: the /15/ mutirões /co-operative work parties; see pp. 66 ff./ with caboclos and the celebrations frequented by them are the order of the day, making acculturation proceed rapidly in the direction of the rural culture of the region. In the economy tillage predominates over hunting, having

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361 Amambai (Pósto Indígena Benjamim Constant), one league from the city of the same name (ex-União), in southern Mato Grosso. On the occasion of my first visit 470 Guaraní Indians were registered at the post, all of the Kayová subgroup. Some Nandéva who had settled in the village were expelled by the Kayová capitão. For some months of the year almost all of the Indians of Amambai, like the other small nuclei of the region, hire themselves out as yerba maté workers, being eagerly sought by the patrons. I worked at the post in 1949 and 1951.

[114] Taquapiri (Reserva Cêro Perô), a Kayová nucleus under the jurisdiction of the Pósto Indígena Benjamim Constant, close to the Paraguayan border, two leagues from the town of Antônio Dias (ex-Fluverá). Some 200 Guaraní live there, almost all of the Kayová subgroup. I visited the community in June of 1949. It is the nucleus in which the Watson couple worked in 1943.

[361] Jacaré or Porto Lindo, a reservation under the jurisdiction of the Pósto Indígena Benjamim Constant. The village, located in the extreme south of Mato Grosso, between the Rio Igatemi and the Serra de Maracaju, extends to within half a league of the Paraguayan border. The great majority of the inhabitants are [162] Nandéva, whose culture does not seem to have suffered profound [177] transformations through contact with inhabitants of other ethnic origins. Some of them came from nearby nuclei on the other [162] side of the /18/ border; some even say they were born in Vila Igatemi in Paraguay, and one or another already seems not to be [114] pure Indian, but creole mestizo. When I stayed with them in June of 1949, I counted about 120 persons.

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648 Summarizing, one might say that the Guaraní tribe, which in past centuries dominated large areas of the southern States of Brazil and neighboring territories in Uruguay, the Republic of Argentina, and Paraguay, is now reduced to a few thousand individuals, the majority of whom, except those who live in eastern Paraguay and in the Argentine territory of Misiones, do not occupy large and concrete areas, but are confined to small reservations or villages under official protection or even administration.

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Chapter IV

Principal Subsistence Activities and Economic Organization

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Although the Guarani is incapable of conceiving human life without the joys of hunting and fishing, the basis of his subsistence is furnished him by tillage. Perhaps because of the influence of environmental conditions and, in part, cultural tradition, some groups of Mbôá, who have large and rich areas of virgin forest at their disposal, such as those of Xapecó, in whose economy hunting, done principally with nooses and traps /Port. mundéus/, greatly prevails over the tasks of the clearings, are still exceptions to this rule. As far as the others are concerned, however, particularly in the present situation, in which the hunting territories of the different villages are being reduced year by year by the progressive invasion of the white man, the importance of the plantings grows more and more, to the detriment of the supplementary activities (1).

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1. /In the original source the notes for Ch. IV appear on pp. 64-65./ But in some villages the ecological situation between the Indians and the civilized ones is becoming such that the former not only cannot support themselves by the activities of hunting, but also do not possess enough land to build their modest little clearings. Take the case of the village of Panambi, where, in spite of the protests of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios and mine, the Ministério de Agricultura, a few years ago, had the lands of the Kayová divided up to be distributed to colonists sent to the region. On the other side of the border the Guarani have the misfortune to find themselves in the territory considered very good for the expansion of coffee cultivation. Under the title of "Compra de terras para o cultivo de café no Paraguai /Purchase of lands for the cultivation of coffee in Paraguay/,"

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241 the newspaper O Estado de São Paulo published
433 the following telegram on March 21, 1953:
177 "Asunción, 20 (UP) -- The organizers of the
182 'American Agriculture and Coffee Corporation,'
● 642 with its main office in São Paulo, Brazil, ar-
rived in Paraguay to conclude negotiations for
the acquisition of an extensive area of 250,000
hectares located in the border zone with Brazil,
south of Mato Grosso. The company will under-
take in these lands the cultivation of coffee on
a large scale, in this way seconding the initia-
tive of the 'coffee king' of Brazil, Jeremias
Lunardelli, who already started his plantations
in the same Paraguayan region early this year.
The experts regard this region, lying between
parallels 21 and 23, as the last reserve of virgin
land favorable for the cultivation of coffee in
South America." -- What this represents for
the Guaraní of those forests need not be ex-
plained. It is the final act of a drama that has
been going on for centuries.

177 In certain villages on the Paulista coast the economic interaction
439 of the Indian society with foreign populations led to the formation
of patterns of commercial exchange, through which the Indian
comes into possession of money or objects of industrial origin that
nowadays he considers indispensable, because they have long ago
been integrated in the culture of the group.

177 The social disorganization that is taking place in the major
182 part of the present-day Guaraní nuclei is perhaps reflected more
clearly in the transformations that the economic life is undergoing
by virtue of the contact with civilization than in any other sector
of the culture.

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433 hunting and fishing expeditions (binding the great-families), the institution of the great-family in turn as an economic community (sometimes congregating several elementary families into a unit of production and consumption), the collective ownership of the hunting areas and the lands of tillage, and, above all, the almost complete absence of intragroup commerce, except in the matter of the exchange of services. All this means that the individual is not recognized as an autonomous economic agent within the tribal community. And, when it occurs, this last step takes place with detribalization itself, that is, it represents the final phase of the existence of the group.

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648 The economic acculturation of the Guaraní appears the more difficult the more it proceeds dissociated from corresponding transformations in other spheres, becoming the cause of cultural unleveling. In this respect the constant complaints of the officials of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios are significant, as they are engaged in imposing on the sylvicolists, in the interest of the latter, so many "economic matrices," without their being in a situation to integrate them satisfactorily into their system of patterns of behavior. Disillusioned, the official in charge of a post in southern Mato Grosso told me: "The Kayová do not want to produce anything; they lack the necessary sense." At his post he had tried for more than fifteen years to stimulate individual production for trade, a matter that did not make any sense to the Indians. In a nearby nucleus, also of Kayová, more positive results were achieved with a system of collective production of yerba maté. To promote the economic "progress" of the Nandéva at another post the Government ordered, years ago, established coffee-plantations to be handed over to the different families; [156] in a short while everything was left abandoned. These and other examples show the difficulty for the Guaraní in detaching the individual from the economic community and coming to consider him as an agent himself with interests that are individual and in part perhaps contrary to those of the group; finally, the reluctance to adopt a pattern of intragroup economic competition. /The notes for Chapter IV appear on pp. 64-65 in the original source, with Ills. VI-IX inserted between p. 64 and p. 65. Page 66 is blank./

/73 cont./

15 of the fence, furiously advancing against one another. A few minutes later they were all sitting together in a group, laughing, talking, and joking. The anger had dissipated like smoke.

15 It is appropriate here too to mention Linton's observation
861 that in societies in which the children are forced to obey their
121 parents vigorously, as adults they become persons not very
866 independent and always wanting an authority that will guide them, there even being extreme cases where it is necessary to educate some few individuals selected to become leaders (4).

4. /From p. 84 of the original source./
Linton, 1945, pp. 141-142.

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[861] Among the Guarani, whose repressive education is almost
[866] nonexistent, a strong sense of discipline and authority does not
[622] develop. Anyone may become chief, so long as he feels the
[787] necessary supernatural vocation; in general self-imposed and
[621] spontaneous practices suffice to establish the magic qualities
[64] and to obtain religious inspiration. Each family chief is or may
[777] become the chief of a band. The idea of an organized government
of a state type quite clearly exists, but only in the abstract
field, within the religious ritual and mythology, surely a reminiscence of the ancient organization of the Jesuit state. The
156 officials of the S.P.I. /Serviço de Proteção aos Índios/ are
157 unanimous in their complaints about the difficulty of subjecting
177 the Guarani to the norms of the Serviço. Without being violent, --
• 648 on the contrary, they are whiners --, these Indians always find
[245] a way to get around the regulations. At Araribá, as we have
seen, there has been an attempt to fit the Guarani into the
economic-administrative system of the post, coffee plantations
already built being given to them. In a few years everything
was ruined. The Guarani does not know how to administer a
156 coffee plantation. He has no work discipline, which no one
157 taught him in his childhood. And the chief toward whom his
554 notions of authority converge is primarily a religious chief --
622 ñanderu, kind as a father, a spiritual leader who wants to take
his "subjects" to the paradise of the civilizer hero. The authority
that goes with the post is even considered a disagreeable burden by

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156 the dignitary. The ñanderú Bastão used to tell me unhappily:
157 "Everybody leans on me, for I am ñanderú." In the majority
554 of the present-day villages, the capitão, the official chief of the
622 group, is a relatively young individual, chosen by the official
[829] of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, and one who in general
[678] does not ascribe much importance to the dignity of his office --
[178] except in order to beg.

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2. Marriage

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Among the Ñandéva and Kayová in former times the initiative for the marriage started with the mother of the bride, or, sometimes, of the groom. Nowadays, in the majority of cases it is the boy who takes it. He speaks to the girl and her father, who, in turn, serves as an intermediary between the suitor and the girl's mother. When the boy goes to his future father-in-law, it is in order to reach an understanding man to man, considered less difficult. The father concerns himself very little about the marriage problems of his children, in contrast to the mother, who is really concerned about her daughter's future, asking her opinion in the matter; the daughter, in turn, asks for her advice and due consent. The married daughter, by the way, when she lives near her mother, likes to spend the day with her.-- Among the reasons for refusing a suitor, there were indicated to me in the south of Mato Grosso: his being a drunkard, a vagabond, economically incapable, a member of another subgroup of the tribe, of Paraguayan or Luso-Brazilian origin, or simply personal antipathy. Among the Kayová and Ñandéva of this region there are cases in which the mother suggests to her daughter a husband -- known as orderly, diligent, and the possessor perhaps of riding animals, his own home, clearings, livestock --, and she herself, the mother, will speak with the boy. The more diligent youths already live in their own house as bachelors, being economically independent.

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I have not found the marriage performed by the Bandiera and according to the rites of the native religion in any other village, except in the case of the Mbiki of Kayewé already mentioned. In all the other groups it is, at least nowadays, the task of the capitán, the latter in a certain way representing the authority of the civil authority, or in the places in which there is a pastor, the official of the Servicio de Pastores are Indios. In the village of San Marcos, Akrida is the one who performs marriages at his 771 house. After asking the woman if she likes the man, and the latter if he likes the woman, he declares them married. He acts, therefore, as a genuine justice of the peace.

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Bigamy is rare and does not seem to occur among the Bandiera. In a nucleus of the Kayewé village of Desarolán, there was a man married to three women at one time. They were not related to one another. Viewed with some reservation by the community, the bigamous man was usually happy; the heaviest burden of the domestic economy fell on the older woman; the younger one, the privileged one, "ama," as they say, at the expense of the other one. There is usually good understanding among the women of such a union, and the children of one and the other enjoy the same rights in the familial constitution.



An index of the social disorganization of the present-day Guaraní, with the exception of the Mbiki, is the lack of stability of the conjugal union. Among the Bandiera the initiative for the separation almost always comes from the man, who either leaves the children with the woman, or -- "according to the right," in the words of José Barón, Bandiera from Desarolán -- sends the woman away and lives with the children. At Akrida, where I found women with three or four successive husbands, the official in charge of the pueblo did not remember one case, in almost twenty years, in which the woman had decided to leave the husband. In other villages, too, it is observed that the women tend to conform to the circumstances, in order not to leave the burden of later supporting the offspring alone. Adultery, both on the part of the man and the woman, is one of the causes of divorce. At Akrida a married Indio woman, referred by a



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621 least formally, in the hands of the capitão /captain, chief,
 621 leader/ of the village, appointed by the Serviço de Proteção
 621 ao Índio. By virtue of the little importance given to the exer-
 cise of the power, so long as it is essentially a political factor,
 there are in general no reasons for conflict of competence.

The same bandeir (1)

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1. /The notes for Ch. VII appear on pp.
 138-139 in the original source./ There
 seems to be no doubt but that the demoni-
 stration pal, with which the Kaporé also
 designates the religious chiefs, although
 they likewise use the term bandeir, is
 etymologically linked to mbair. This was
 the name for the French among the
 Tupianité of the fifteenth century, and,
 moreover, it occurs in the mythology of
 many Tupí tribes. As a mythological
 figure, mbair is the companion or "counter-
 part" of hame in the Tupianité traditions
 (see, for instance, Archimba, 1933, p. 133);
hame is the chieftain hero of the Parakana
 of Amazonia (Nunes Pereira, 1942). The
 etymology of the name has given rise to
 different interpretations. The best known one
 is that of Teodoro Sampaio: "mbair, a name for
 the French among the Tupis of Brazil. The
 Guarani of Paraguay called the Spanish --
mbair. The two words mbair and mbair are
 contracted forms of mbair-ira, which ex-
 presses -- the one apart, the military one,
 the one who lives far away. From mbair-ira
 comes mbair-ira, mbair-ira, mbair-ira. The
 natives gave this name to the French and
 Spanish, not only because they came from
 afar, but also because they feared them,
 because of their superiority, to their own

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In order to be considered competent, or in order to gain prestige among his subjects, the capife should be energetic, have persuasive power over his comrades, not be given to drunkenness, speak the national idiom, and be skilled and astute in dealing with the Brazilian authorities. Among the Nandéva of Bariri I heard complaints against old Silvino Rufino, whose incapacity was attributed to the "lack of agreement" in the village: he was said not to have the energy or sufficient persuasive power to gather the men to maintain the village road. They accused him of excessive alcoholism, which gave the community a bad name. "Ashaviraká napeffi, the chief is no good because he drinks a great deal, and his wife too."

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In the social structure there is no formal obstacle blocking the access of anyone to either the category of prayer-man or doctor-sorcerer. The status stems from the religious experience of the individual himself, and there is no limitation to the number of doctor-sorcerers. Strictly speaking, every chief of a great-family, or even of an elementary family, can become the doctor-sorcerer of his kindred, so long as he has the vocation for such. Nothing hinders a family from splitting in two, each with its bandera, which, incidentally, shows the close relation between the chieftaincy of the family group and the charismatic authority. There is almost no danger of any rivalry among the doctor-sorcerers of a village: the authority of each one goes beyond the ambit of the family group only to that extent that his prestige allows it. His power does not rest on a patent conferred by an official of the Servico de Proteção aos Índios, but on his religious knowledge, on his ability to foresee the future, in the exercise of practices that drive away misfortunes of the present and prevent those of the future. That is why Pedro Pires said to men "Ashakuná is the prayer-man, for he knows everything."

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The situation of the village capife is quite different. The institution did not originate from within Guarani culture: it was imposed from outside. Even so, however, nowadays important functions in the life of the group fall to him. The capife

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624 officially represents the interests of the village in the presence of
 648 the Brazilian inhabitants and is at the same time chief of police
 177 within the group. It is his duty to re-establish order and to punish
 the culprits whenever the social disorganization and the abuse of
 alcohol give rise to quarrels and fights within the community.

624 /102/ In general the capitão occupies the office as long
 622 as he is not dismissed by the official in charge of the administra-
 578 tion of the post. While he must be supported by the powers of the
 646 official, the Handerú or paí can exert his authority even against
 177 the one in charge of the post. In spite of the peaceful coexistence
 182 of the two powers, the temporal and the spiritual, this state of
 affairs thus tends to generate a state of constant social tension,
 which is manifested in the relations between the group and the
 official of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios. Toward the
Handerú converge manifestations of criticism and discontent
 concerning the one in charge, who, in turn, regards the Handerú
 as the principal obstacle to the proper completion of his mission.
 On the other hand, the capitão is the right hand of the one in
 charge and represents, so to speak, the "official" point of view.
 To the extent that it falls to him to represent and defend the ma-
 terial interests of the group, always threatened by the white man,
 and to serve as a connecting bridge between the Indians and the
 one in charge, the group indeed can not dispense with his co-
 operation. From this emerges the state of tension that shows
 clearly that the institution of the capitão or civil chief is not yet
 integrated in the Guaraní culture. In actuality there are two
 624 notions of chieftaincy in virtual conflict: the religious one, es-
 622 sentially charismatic at bottom, authority that may extend to the
 182 whole village if the individual's prestige is sufficient for such, but
 [554] also may be limited to the family group (there always being the
 [554] possibility, as we have seen, of the different family chiefs coming
 to an understanding in consultative gatherings for informal discussion,
 whenever general interests of the local group are at stake); and
 the civil one, in the hands of the capitão a more or less despotic
 little chief of the whole village, influencing everything except
 what is really essential for the Guaraní, that is, the religious
 orientation of the community.

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- 624 orientation of the community. Although in latent conflict, the
 622 two chieftaincies thus peacefully coexist in reality. The capitão
 182 does not consider himself competent in matters of a religious nature,
 and the Randerú, in turn, in spite of his undoubtedly greater au-
 thority, does not usually interfere in questions of internal or ex-
 ternal politics of the group so long as they do not bear more or less
 directly on the vital interests of the village. And if in these cases
 the Randerú takes any action, it is because, for the problems of
 real importance, he cannot conceive of any solutions other than
 those of a religious nature. For great misfortunes, great remedies.
 622 At Panambi, Paí Chiquinho, in spite of the prestige that he enjoys,
 • 648 182 does not take cognizance of the most agitated disputes and quarrels
 756 that develop in the village or perhaps in his presence, but when
 [578] he heard that, in obedience to a decision of the Ministério da
 [554] Agricultura, the administration of the Colônia Federal de
 Dourados /103/ decided to divide the lands of Panambi in order
 to distribute them to families of immigrants, without heeding the
 needs and the rights of the Kayová, he resolved to act -- always,
 however, within the ambit of his competence. Seized by sacred
 rage, he promoted religious dances with the intention of hastening the
 end of the world, where, because of the white man's ill will and
 incomprehension, the conditions of life were becoming unbearable.
- 624 In general, the capitão himself, no less imbued with the
 156 Guarani mentality than his subjects, has difficulty in giving to the
 office that he occupies a meaning corresponding to the intention
 with which it was created. At Palmeirinha I met a capitão who
 [114] did not trouble himself about the fights that there were among the
 people of his group, nor did he take measures against the exploita-
 tions on the part of civilized individuals; on a certain winter
 night, however, he deemed it necessary to suspend a dancing
 celebration, "because it was very cold and people were getting
 [115] tired for no purpose." -- Bemto, capitão of Bananal, told me that
 he considered it one of his duties as chief "to encourage the
 people" whenever a dance was held in the village. It is therefore

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622 Such a situation shows that the Mbã do not necessarily tie
624 to any specific person the exercise of the different functions of a
182 civil government, but, in accordance with the tribal mentality,
[598] distribute them among various family chiefs, according to the
needs of the moment and the competence of each one. The religious chieftaincy and the political one tend to coincide there with the administration of the family group. As we have already seen, it is proof that the office of capitão is not yet integrated as an institution in the culture of the tribe. The institution, in order to be maintained, needs the direct and constant support of the official of the Serviço de Proteção ao Índio. Where, as in Rio Branco, there is no official post, there can be no capitão properly speaking.

624 But at the posts, too, one can observe that the capitão is
156 not considered the supreme authority. He often takes counsel with the flanderú in order better to define his attitudes and to learn what measures should be taken. In any case, his authority lacks the charismatic basis that is essential for the Guarani.

[114] When I visited the Mbã at Xapacó, they had as capitão a fellow about twenty years old or a little older. But his authority seemed to be merely nominal. "In order to be cacique," they told me, "it is necessary to know how to pray" and to be flanderú or at least

[622] pyvraídjá (cult assistant). The young capitão and his companions obeyed the flanderú Dionísio, an old man who had the plan of migrating with his group to the coast, in order to hasten the departure for the Land without Misfortunes. The capitão of Araribá is Manequinho or Poýdjú, appointed several decades ago; but the religious chief, flanderú Sebastião (now deceased), although he was almost a stranger, since he had come from Dourados, was the one who took care of the interests of his comrades.

[622] In some villages there are rivalries and even intrigues in order to occupy the office of capitão, this when they can not adopt the solution of the Mbã of Rio Branco, who allow several capitães/plural of capitão/ side by side. The economic advantages of the office seem to be the main reason for the competition. The civil chief of the village has greater facility in obtaining gifts from the official in charge of the post and from strangers, and he

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[184] In some villages there are rivalries and even intrigues in order to occupy the office of capitão, this when they can not adopt the solution of the Mbã of Rio Branco, who allow several capitães/plural of capitão/ side by side. The economic advantages of the office seem to be the main reason for the competition. The civil chief of the village has greater facility in obtaining gifts from the official in charge of the post and from strangers, and he

/155 cont./

538 In spite of the variations from subgroup to subgroup, the
182 folklore of the tribe is characterized by a common stock of be-
184 liefs and narratives, secular songs, and other elements, which
on the one hand attests to its unity, and, on the other hand, makes
it fit very well in the conjunction of folkloric traditions that represent the patrimony of the Tupí-Guaraní family.

538 In interethnic contact, the folklore appears to be a factor
177 of relatively great cultural permeability. Perhaps it is possible
to speak of the greater independence of folklore in comparison
with other sectors, with the corpus mythorum, for example,
much more intermeshed with the context of the culture, especially
with reference to the ceremonial. In any case, this aspect
of folklore appears to be an important factor of acculturation,
as there seems to be no doubt but that, together with the folkloric
elements properly speaking, transmitted from one group to the
other, there are also implanted, little by little and surreptitiously,
more subtle realities regarding the way of interpreting the world,
realities that can contribute toward the formation of a new conception
of life.

Particularly picturesque is the folkloric syncretism of the
groups that have become acquainted with the great world in their
migrations, incorporating the most disparate elements to the pre-
existent stock. When, more than twenty years ago, the Mbáá of
538 the present village of Rio Branco went to meet the President of
177 the Republic for the purpose of obtaining ocean passage to Portugal,
167 which they thought was closer to Paradise, the Government de-
• [648] cided to send the band to the settlement of Pancas, in Espírito
Santo. Some time later, however, they returned to the /156/
Paulista coast, after long peregrinations, during which they also
crossed parts of Minas Gerais. Thus they were gathering many
new things in their association with the rural population of the
539 areas traversed. Among other things, they told me about avá
177 poipé, an "Indian" who lives in the hollow of a rock, who does
not have arrows and does not have at his disposal any weapon ex-
cept his fingernails and a stone with which he strikes, he does not
leave the hollow of the rock, does not go into the forest, lives in
all the interiors, speaks a very difficult language, is provided with

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756 What is certain is that the frustration has not yet shaken their faith, and that is why the confidence that they place in the religious chief also continues to be strong. The second authority, the civil chief or capitão, has /172/ an active voice among the Mbũá only on subjects of secondary importance, particularly in what is said with respect to dealings with the civilized inhabitants. The fãnderũ does not take cognizances of these matters; burdens of greater responsibility rest on his shoulders.

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178 Among the factors making the myth of Paradise continue to be so alive in the spirit of the Mbũá is the outstanding fact of their having clung, in spite of frequent contacts with the civilized world, to the usages and customs of the ancestors and of not yet counting in their midst mestizo individuals. And these conditions for their part explain a decisive factor: that the different groups still constitute closed communities of worship, in which the quite superficial influence of the Christianity experienced in recent years has not succeeded in undermining, for the present, the constant realization of the conjunction of ceremonies bound up with the myth.

3. The Kayová

127 From the existing bibliographic sources it is understood that
167 formerly, that is, several decades ago, the Kayová also undertook
[178] migrations in the direction of the Atlantic coast. There are no indications in this respect for recent times.

771 Although the representation of Paradise is always present as an
772 aspiration or dream in the religious life of the Kayová, virtually
648 at least, its importance increases considerably in crisis situations.
193 This was verified a few years ago at least in the Mato Grosso village of Panambi, in the region of Dourados, when the Government had the lands of the Indians distributed among civilized colonists. As this project was being executed, the primitive conditions of life of the Indians began to be jeopardized and in part were even destroyed. Thus, the myth was activated, and the Indians started
[179] to perform religious dances with the objective of hastening the

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183 destruction of the world and to receive as quickly as possible the
771 revelation of the path to the promised land. As a result of the
772 conflicts with the colonists and the Government officials, the
• 648 mythical dream and the cataclysmology tied to it assumed in a
[796] short time the character of a true obsession. When I once handed
[124] these Indians some sheets of paper and a pencil, asking them to
[828] draw anything whatsoever, they at once set out to represent scenes
of the end of the world and the path that leads to the Beyond, so
passionately desired.

77 As for the idea of the path, it is necessary to mention its im-
portance in the conjunction of the collective representations of the
Kayová, as well as, by the way (although to a less attenuated de-
gree), of the other subdivisions of the tribe. The /173/ Nanderú
[184] might invoke for his position the evangelical phrase: "I am the way,
[762] the truth and the life." And it is particularly the image of the
path that in crisis situations assumes the form of an obsessive idea.
In the tribal myth it is distinguished, among the Nandéva, as the
path of the primordial mother looking for the father of the twins.
Among them, as among the Kayová, it takes concrete expression in
the dangerous path of the soul after death, as well as in the path
of the soul in the prayer in its passage through the celestial realm
of the deities. In all the groups, however, the most significant
form is the path whose revelation is awaited in order to reach the
[124] realm of happiness. The Kayová, invited to draw, tried to portray
with the pencil how the path used by the doctor-sorcerer on his
frequent visits to the sky appeared to them. -- All this reminds
[829] us that the Guaraní characterize themselves as tapéjã as a na-
tion of wanderers and travelers.

[782] All the different prayers that accompany the religious dances
[82] and that extend through the night until the break of day, accord-
ing to what the Kayová repeatedly told me, are nothing but paths
that lead to the presence of the gods. The ayvú as well as the
yvyrádjã. "Without a path," one informant told me, "one does
not arrive at the place that one intends to reach."

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the mythical dream. But in the village of Araribá, for example, where there live about a hundred Nandéva whose ancestors hopefully undertook the migration to the coast and who, after the lack of success in their ceremonies, were conducted to the interior of the State of São Paulo, in order to spend their days in a post of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, the spirit of the aborigines has been continuously dominated by the fear of some evil that might happen. This not infrequently generates a deep weariness which in persons with a markedly mystical disposition comes to be transformed into a kind of thanatomania. As a result of the disillusion, the primitive aspiration, aguydjê, which includes the desire to escape death, is converted, at least in a certain sense into the contrary attitude, into the wish to die. One tries to die as soon as possible, in order immediately to enter Paradise, where then, it is quite true, there is no longer the phenomenon of death.

The transformation of the myth among the Guarani who, for a period corresponding to a generation or more have lived on the Paulista coast in more or less continuous contact with the civilized population of the region has taken place in a quite different direction. They resort to Christian elements to explain the poor results of the ceremonies and thus to reinterpret the original myth. Phenomena of cultural change and social disorganization are utilized in their turn as proofs and recourses of demonstration. In former times, when people prayed with true faith and confidence, when the honey of the wild bees and many fruits were eaten, instead of excessive meat of game (which has the inconvenience of making the body "heavy"), when the relations among the fellow tribesmen were harmonious and when abstention in sexual life was known, yes, in /175/ former times many were able to walk through the sea, which opened up at their feet, and, on the opposite shore, to enter Paradise, where death need not be feared. Nowadays, however, the efforts of the doctor-sorcerer are doomed to poor results from the outset because of the simple fact that harmony does not reign within the community and there are constant quarrels and fights.

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wants to feel warm." I observed an exception to the general rule, which is to drink as long as one can or as long as there is liquor, in a Mbũã of Rio Branco, who, after three or four little glasses of liquor at the shop of Evangelista de Souza, showed some energy: "What I wanted to drink I have already drunk. Now it is good." Almost all, however, are overcome by apathy and do not react.

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Among the Nandéva and Kayová of Dourados, in spite of the vigilance exerted by the official of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios and the influence of the Protestant mission, it happens that the proceeds from the changa /wage labor/ is spent on drink, sometimes in one night the earnings of a whole week or more of work. On the following day there is no manifestation of regret or even of discontent, unless drunkenness has become generalized in the village, women and children participating in it, cases in which there are "misunderstandings" with regard to the wives of other men in the course of the drunkenness and the subsequent fights, not infrequently very violent ones. It is to be noted there, by the way, that the older Indians have less inclination toward the use of aguardiente than the younger ones; they are induced to drink by the latter, sometimes drawn in by their own children. There are feasts, anniversaries and others, that are reduced to serenades with liquor, becoming drunk with a great hubbub, even children three and four years old. And at the chicha feasts the Kayová sometimes add some bottles of liquor to the traditional drink.

273 There seems to be no doubt but that alcoholism
182 reflects the state of cultural poverty, supplying a
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000 enable their owners to establish themselves comfortably in a village or populated place. (There are four or five *beliches* in União.) Some *beliches*, especially in villages, are quite well stocked with the goods of the region, saddlery, hand tools, staple commodities, kitchen utensils, and the like. But frequently the *belicho* is located in the open country at the residence of its proprietor and is merely a small additional source of income for a slightly more enterprising than usual individual, who still maintains his own *roças* and is a small producer of *mats*.

241 A transient form of peonage with both white (usually Paraguayan) and
233 Indian workers is an established method of recruiting the labor employed by the more prosperous. Even some who are not so prosperous manage to get hold of an Indian from time to time to work in the *roças* or in the *mats* grove. The Cayuá, either as peons or in their own right, rarely or never work with cattle.

554 The use of the horse and the prestige value of saddles, spurs, whips, boots,
233 guns, and riding attire are well developed among the whites, whether they
241 work primarily as cattlemen or not. The Indians employ few of these symbols
• 648 of prestige, although some influences in this respect are to be observed among them. Practically none of the Cayuá owns a horse, and their way of life is predominantly agricultural; agriculture, on the other hand, is always considered secondary and subsidiary in prestige for the whites. There is little white development of cash-cropping other than *mats*; the agricultural base is almost exclusively one of subsistence farming. Non-Indians, with few exceptions, tend to avoid if possible any extensive direct concern with agriculture by employing peons; *mats*, cattle, and horses are the most important things for them.²

000 Non-Indian social structure is probably not greatly different from that of frontier and rural Brazilian society elsewhere. There is great emphasis on the family, kin ties are more important than any others, and intimate relations with non-relatives closely resemble kinship relations. A form of *compadre* usage prevails, even to the extent that almost everyone living within a radius of ten miles or so (apparently, and with whom one speaks at all cordially) is called "*compadre*," whether he is actually a godparent to one's children or not. Thus the term is to some extent synonymous with "neighbor."

The Catholic religion is nominal, but there is no resident priest or missionary in either Nhu Verá or União. "Common law" marriages are fairly frequent, more so among poorer people who cannot pay what the priest asks, especially since it would be necessary to have a priest come from some distance.

² *Idem*.

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Whatever the aboriginal political situation, the shaman or *pa'i* was often a man of considerable worldly as well as spiritual authority. The *de jure* secular powers may have been commonly combined in the person of this official; or it may be that this exercise of secular power was forced upon the Guarani and Cayuá shamans to an abnormal degree by the white advent. As spiritual leaders, shamans would obviously be indicated to head up resistance—which took secular forms—to the religious precepts the European missionaries were trying to inculcate. The shamans (*pa'i*) were among the most adamant in fostering rebellion in those dubiously won over to the missionaries of Roman Catholicism. It is well to recognize, therefore, the good probability of a bias in some of the European accounts which might tend to neglect possible Guarani and Cayuá secular officers in favor of an emphasis of the secular powers of the shamans. To the missionaries, shamans would have appeared all too influential in their resistance to proselytism.

WARFARE

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There is practically no information regarding the warfare of the Cayuá. When we first begin to hear specifically about them, they have already assumed the role of eludersⁿ—as far as the Europeans, at least, are concerned. One may suspect, however, that such pusillanimity has not always been their nature, largely on the basis of accounts of other closely related Tupi-Guarani. The Chiriguano, apparently closely akin and who came from a homeland very near to the traditional homeland of the Cayuá, were certainly warlike as they invaded the eastern frontiers of the Inca Empire in the early 16th century; in fact, they seem to have done well from a military standpoint against the men of the Inca. The war-cannibalism complex of the coastal Tupi groups is well known, and any tribe which shared in this general cultural background might well be fairly warlike also. The Cayuá may have been cannibalistic at least as late as the period of Jesuit missionization. Others among their close neighbors and linguistico-cultural relatives were cannibals. We might expect to discover the same for the Cayuá, but the actual documentary evidence is lacking.

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By the time there is any mention at all of the Cayuá, beyond a few indefinite words, the Guaicuruan-speaking peoples to the west of them, notably the Mbayá-Caduveo, were already in possession of horses and had crossed the Paraguay River from the Chaco to the Mato Grosso side (latter half of the 17th century). When Rengger contacted the Cayuá in the first part of the 19th century, he found them well acquainted with the depredations of the Mbayá and very fearful of these people. Rengger was told that there simply was no recourse for the Cayuá but to seek to avoid war with the Mbayá by concealment; the Mbayá shamans were altogether too powerful, and nothing would

ⁿ This adjective of Radin's (1942) certainly appears to be a *mot juste*.

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CAYUÁ CULTURE CHANGE

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avail against their magic.⁷³ The Cayuá said that they could not even keep cocks or dogs in their settlements for fear that their crowing or barking would disclose the location of *tapai* to lurking raiders.⁷⁴ If the Cayuá ever had a markedly aggressive spirit toward other peoples, then, it may have been curbed by contact with the proud and dauntless equestrian raiders from the Chaco, if not earlier, indeed, by strife with more successful Tupi-Guarani or contact with Gê-speaking peoples. The post-Conquest incursions of *Bandeirantes* and *mamelucos*⁷⁵ could well have had a like effect on the Indians.

RELIGIOUS CONCEPTS

Our knowledge of aboriginal Tupi-Guarani religions has suffered, both at the hands of the early chroniclers as well as those of later writers, because of overemphasis of mythology. There apparently has been a confusion of mythology with the religion of which it is a part. (The white interest in mythology probably reflects Catholic Christian emphasis of dogma and theology.) Specifically for the Guarani, the missionary commentators, who might reasonably have been expected to produce worthwhile accounts of religion, nominally a matter of some interest to them, have not left much of value. Some were bent on discovering factual proof that the ancestors of the Guarani were actually taught by St. Thomas. (There were a few vague hints of this apostle's activity, least well accounted for of all the disciples. The scriptures, of course, state that all corners of the earth received the word after Christ departed leaving his followers to carry out such a project.) Or the priests were concerned with showing what a depraved and stupid type of worship the Guarani had and hence the necessity for His Hispanic Majesty to provide for greater and more intensive Roman Catholic missionization. Once the missionaries had a sufficient foothold to be able to do so with impunity, they made every effort to expose the native shamans to ridicule; they had them beaten, outlawed, or even punished with death when they expressed recalcitrance to the purveyors of the True Faith. From such conditions objective accounts of the native religion were not likely to emerge. We are therefore often obliged to use the information contained in accounts of other Tupi-Guarani religions and in reconstructions based on current Cayuá religious notions divested as much as possible of their acculturational overlay.

The aboriginal Cayuá did not differ greatly in general religious ideas from their coastal relatives. Métraux has said that the world was peopled for the early Tupinambá by two classes of supernatural powers or beings, one generally malevolent, individualized spirits, which might be called demons or genii, and the other a class of more numerous but impersonal "ghosts."⁷⁶

⁷³ Rengger, 1835, p. 120.⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 123.⁷⁵ *Bandeirantes* and *mamelucos* were mestizo adventurers and Indian slaves from the São Paulo section of colonial Brazil.⁷⁶ Métraux, "The Tupinambá," p. 33.174*
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III. THE HISTORY OF CAYUÁ CONTACT WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF EUROPEAN CULTURE

128 THE foregoing synopsis of Cayuá culture at the time of the European entry will serve as a sort of backdrop or screen against which the subsequent changes of acculturation may be better viewed. The present chapter comprises a brief historical sketch of the contact of Cayuá and neighboring peoples with Europeans and European culture. Most of the handicaps which prevail in outlining aboriginal Cayuá culture also make difficult and incomplete the tracing of the history of their European contact. The Cayuá were with little doubt, almost from the beginning of the Conquest period until almost the present, on the peripheries of effective penetration of the Europeans and their ideas; apparently they were never in long standing, direct contact with whites until quite recently. Given the difficulties mentioned, the following paragraphs attempt a summary of what there is to be known or inferred about the developing influences of European culture.

For ease and brevity of presentation the post-Conquest history of the region in which the Cayuá live is herein divided into several periods. The divisions are somewhat arbitrary, not being entirely according to either the Cayuá point of view or that of the Spanish or Portuguese. But in a general way, the following dates mark off periods determined primarily by shifts in the principal influences occasioned by the European advent.

- I. The Spanish Conquest period, about 1530 to 1610.
- II. The period of Jesuit missionization, 1610 to 1768.
- III. 1768 to ca. 1832: Decay of the missions; disturbances; contact with male workers (*yerbateros*).
- IV. Religiously inspired migrations ("Contra-acculturative" movement?), 1832 to 1850.
- V. 1850 to 1910, the expansion of Brazilians westward (Paraguayan War, 1865-1870).
- VI. 1910 to the present: SPI influence, especially in the 1920's and 1930's. Increasing white settlement.

THE SPANISH CONQUEST PERIOD, CA. 1530 TO 1610

*175 648 The year 1530 is an approximate date at which the Spanish explorers began to ascend the Paraná and Paraguay river systems from the Plate Estuary.^a This was also roughly the period of beginning Spanish and Portuguese trans-

^a The Rio de la Plata was discovered in 1516 by Juan Díaz de Solís, who was killed by Charua Indians on the initial trip. Cabot was the next to take up the project, but not until 1530, and was the first to establish bases on the Plate.

terrestrial penetration of the then "Province of Guayra" (approximately the present-day Brazilian states of Paraná and Santa Catarina) and of the territory lying largely to the north of the "Guarani" peoples and between the Paraná and Paraguay.

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Along the lower Paraná and along the Paraguay the Spanish early came in contact with Guarani-speakers.²² They used the indigenes for carriers and for other services, and although hospitably received by the "Guarani," occasional armed conflict and the use of force early began to mark Spanish relations with the Indians. The Spanish were not long in applying the *encomienda* system to the Indians of the area, and principally to the Guarani, who were apparently more tractable than the rest. This was the same system which characterized Spanish relations with indigenes in other parts of their world empire of the 16th and 17th centuries. The general practice was for a certain piece of territory and the inhabitants thereof to be assigned to the use, by conquest if necessary, of a given *encomendero*. The *encomienda*, whatever may have been its suavities in theory, usually in practice amounted to little more than a licence to peonize or enslave the Indians.

There is no indication that any Cayuá came directly under this early Spanish influence. Indeed, one would hardly expect it, since by definition "Cayuá" were speakers of Guarani who, even at a much later time, remained as "wild" men in their forests, beyond the Spanish pale. Nevertheless, it seems likely that the Cayuá felt ripples, strong or weak, depending on their location, on the relatively tranquil aboriginal surface. Possibly they became territorially dislocated, either by pressure from other retreating peoples or by their own resolution to withdraw before the too powerful invaders. Their attitude may well have been one of retreat and pacific avoidance; this, at least, has been their general disposition as consistently reported by observers, early or recent.

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Successful retreat and avoidance were possible for the Cayuá thanks primarily to the topography of the region in which they lived and thanks to the fact that no gold or other precious materials to interest the Spanish and Portuguese had been discovered near them.²³ Whatever and wherever the

²² The site of Buenos Aires is said to have been inhabited by Guaraní, and Lathrop, 1932, adds that the archeology bears this out.

²³ The Cayuá were fortunate in this respect in being between the two great rivers, the Alto Paraná and the Paraguay. The Alto Paraná did not present an inviting prospect to navigation because of rocks and great waterfalls which are impassable. The Paraguay, on the other hand, early became an important highway, but it led logically to the west of the Cayuá, to Bolivia and Spain's great Andean provinces where riches were known to exist. Furthermore the Cayuá seem to have lived primarily on affluents of the Paraná rather than on Paraguay drainage. (Some groups, however, may have lived on Paraguay waters prior to the threat of Mbyá and Spanish incursions.)

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(footnote continues on p. 46 below)

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• 648 Cayuá of that day may have been, what they received of European influence was for the most part received through other native peoples who became earlier Europeanized.

[726] The acculturation of other native peoples as a result of the European advent ultimately came to have a very marked effect upon the Cayuá. One instance was the adoption of the horse and its use to implement and broaden the scope of warlike activities of Guaicuruan-speaking peoples, particularly the Mbayá-Caduveo. When these latter crossed the Paraguay in the latter half of the 17th century and carried their raids into Mato Grosso, they must have upset the previous balance of power of native groups, and the Cayuá were certainly among those affected. Possibly they were obliged to constrict territorially and to modify their activities in other ways. For many, if not all, Cayuá this menace became a part of their situation long before they were actually obliged to face the Europeans in large numbers. The Mbayá are said to have made vassals of certain peoples, such as the southern Arawak Guaná, but their principal effect on the Cayuá was that of inspiring terror, constantly threatening attack, and the killing or capturing of prisoners for slaves.

THE PERIOD OF JESUIT MISSIONIZATION, 1600 TO 1765

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797 The effect of the Jesuit missionaries on the Guarani during over 150 years was, of course, considerably more conscious and organized than anything that had preceded it.⁴⁶ It involved more concern with what the priests thought was "good" for the Indians than did the policies of the lay Spanish. To the latter it often did not matter what the natives might believe or do as long as the labors desired of them were discharged. It is often overlooked, however, that other Roman Catholic missionaries were in the Paraguayan area previous to the Company of Jesus. The Franciscans were there before and after the Jesuit period, and stayed throughout, working with Indians all the while.⁴⁷

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797 Besides the resistance of the Indians themselves, the Jesuits were confronted with two other opponents, the lay Spanish in Paraguay, with headquarters at Asunción, and the marauding slaves known as *wooden* or *peleleas*. These "Portuguese" had their primary base of operations at São

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(14) Still another point favoring Cayuá isolation from Europeans was the doubtful status of the frontier between Spanish and Portuguese domains in the general Cayuá region. The frontier remained unsettled actually until the Paraguayan War, 1864-1870.

⁴⁶ The number of years confined to the Jesuits for their activity in the Paraguayan region more than does those Jesuits since the conventional beginning date, 1600, is counted from the very inception. It was not until some time afterward that the full development of missions usually required came about.

⁴⁷ The facts of Franciscan missionary activity in Paraguay seem to have suffered unjustly in the light of all the attention thrown upon the Jesuit missionary and also, perhaps, because the Franciscans were less about their work. The legendary propagandist efforts of the Jesuits seem so much as anything responsible for the extreme reactions regarding their Paraguayan activities.

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Paulo (Brazil), founded in 1554. Yet, both of the non-Indian enemies of the missionary work of the Jesuits actually in some respects increased the enrollment of the missions. The Indians, through fear of the slaving forays of the *Paulistas* on the one hand and the forced labor of the Paraguayan *encomenderos* on the other, apparently were often driven or persuaded to take refuge in the missions and reductions of the Company. This was, in fact, a strong talking point of the Jesuits in enlisting prospective converts.

Throughout the mission period, however, may "woods Indians" (literally "Cayua"?), as Dobrishaoffer calls them, remained beyond the sphere of Jesuit proselytism; and geographically it was again the traditional area of the present Cayua, largely to the north of the most famous and longest established Guarani missions, which saw the fewest inroads of Catholic religious and secular proselytism. Once more, then, our concern with major European forces for acculturation is only because of their possible, indirect influence on the Cayua. The indirect influence exerted by the Jesuits through missionized Indians was much greater than could have been attributed to the Spaniards previously. The missionaries lived closer to the Cayua; they affected larger numbers of Guarani-speakers and tried with greater seriousness and direction to remake many more aspects of the daily life and culture of the indigenes.

The Jesuit missions were villages or camps composed of barrack-like dwellings in strict military arrangement, with community buildings such as the church, storerooms, and the priest's house. The life of the missions was apparently a highly regimented one, with every attempt made by the soldiers of Christ to break the old customs and instill the new ones of obedience, belief, and work—after the patterns desired by the priests. The manner of setting up a mission was for Jesuits, singly or in pairs, accompanied by Indian proselytes who knew the country and the tongue, to strike out, usually for a region where "woods Indians" had been reported. When such a band was located, they were subjected to persuasion, either to join an already established mission, or to allow the Jesuits to establish one for them at some designated spot in that area. Gifts and sometimes feasts of beef, brought along on the hoof for the purpose, were among the blandishments calculated to encourage the pagans to submit. The Indian proselytes often also worked on their "unreduced" cousins, telling them of the joys and the wonders of life in the missions.*

Establishing a mission meant that the Indians were obliged to live where the Jesuits indicated, perhaps to join an already organized town. They had quarters assigned them, were presumably issued "proper" clothing, and were

* Such attractions as music were soon employed. Dobrishaoffer, for example, played a wide *d'ave*, and other Jesuits performed on the guitar, flute, etc. It must have been a strange sight—a black garbed man of God, kneeling down, some from behind, looking down in a devout, pious or smiling European folk tunes to the children of nature, presumably to attract them along the banks.

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*175 allotted work and fields in which it was to be done. The women were often set
 *177 to weaving cotton on a piece-work basis, an arrangement somewhat like that
 797 which characterized the household industry of Europe of the time. Men
 [462] apparently did the agricultural work (in probable contrast to the aboriginal
 [286] pattern). Most of the day's activities were directed by the priests, apparently
 [241] following a strict schedule, and little was left to the will or inclination of the
 [62] Indians. Under no circumstances were people to leave the reduction without
 permission. Indians were appointed to various offices, mostly connected with
 spying, policing, and reporting what were henceforth to be considered crimes
 and misdemeanors. If in one of the barracks, some nostalgic individuals gave
 themselves over to practicing the old ways, particularly in matters religious,
 this might well be reported. The miscreants would then almost certainly be
 punished. The punishments, through the political acumen of the fathers,
 were inflicted by minor officials selected from among the native proselytes
 themselves.

The inculcation of orderliness and obedience to authority was very notice-
 able in economic matters. The missions were run as ideally as great agrarian
 enterprises with peon labor could be—from the point of view of discipline,
 organization, and centralization. Or at least such was the intent. It is not
 unlikely that some of the opposition on the part of the lay Spanish to the
 Jesuits and their work in the Paraguayan region may have been based on
 jealousy and envy of what must have been relatively marked material success.
 [241] New crops were introduced and new agricultural methods. An attempt was
 [233] made to bring stockbreeding and the use of the plow and draft animals to the
 [433] understanding of the Guarani. Surpluses of meat, hides, and agricultural crops
 [439] were produced on a notable scale for trade with the outside world.

"Outside world" was a literal concept not only because of the relative
 distance of many of the missions from the nearest colonial centers, but also
 because the Jesuits themselves willed that their charges should be isolated
 and know as little as possible about what lay beyond their narrow globe.
 *175 The Spanish colonials complained that the Jesuits must have mines, treasures,
 *177 or other secrets since they prevented or impeded the entry of outsiders into
 • 648 their towns. There seems to have been much Jesuit worry that the Guarani
 797 would become restless, not so much for the towns of the Spaniards, probably,
 *174 but for their native forests. Almost everything was done to make it difficult
 for the natives to return; it was forbidden and attempts were punished, the
 "savage" way of life was ridiculed and belittled (as well as those who ad-
 mitted that they still desired it), and training, especially of the young, was
 directed in a way that would completely unfit the Indians for any other life
 but that of the missions. The Guarani would be apt neither for the towns of
 the Spaniards, nor for the *tapel* of the forests. The mission organization was
 largely a theocracy, run by priests, and with well developed economic interests.

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Yet the Jesuit fear of the Indian longing for his native state was certainly not groundless. Not only did considerable numbers of free Indians still live in the neighborhood of some of the largest and best known missions, but also now and then, individually or by families and groups, proselytes slipped away, back to their forests. In other words, during practically the entire Jesuit mission period there was apparently a fairly constant intercourse between the people of the missions and the people of the Guarani forests. This contact is of importance in considering mission effect on the non-missionized peoples.

The influence of the missionized upon the woods Indians was even stronger after the breakup of the mission organization. The dissolution actually began with the abandonment of all the missions to the east of the Rio Uruguay, imposed upon the order by the Treaty of 1750 between Spain and Portugal; it ended finally with the decree for the complete withdrawal of the Jesuits from Spanish America in 1767. Many of the missionized, and hence acculturated, Guarani were soon thereafter practically free to pursue their traditional ways—as much as they still knew how or found it convenient to do so. This release of the missionized Indians could hardly fail to be a great source of diffusion of European traits, inculcated in them by their Catholic masters, to the less acculturated Cayuá.⁴⁷

What specific Jesuit traits implanted in their Indian wards may have been diffused to the forest people during and following the mission period? A careful examination of mission policy and practice gives us one side of the case.⁴⁸ In Cayuá culture today, however, the task of identifying certain acculturational features as clearly of Jesuit origin and others as of different European provenience would in most instances be fruitless. There is not much literature about the Cayuá following the break-up of Jesuit mission rule to guide us.⁴⁹ Rengger gives only a few meager clues such as to indicate that Cayuá use of crosses (and possibly some attendant religious ideas) may be of Jesuit origin. By implication no appreciable mission influence on agriculture was then to be noted—at least not among the Cayuá Rengger visited. He does not mention in this connection whether men or women were pri-

⁴⁷ It is partly for this latter reason, in the opinion of the writer, that ideas as to the present-day cultural distinctions among Guarani-speakers are so confused and conflicting in this region. Whatever the pre-existing differences among them, or whatever the differences created by the missionization of only a part of them—perhaps certain whole tribal or local groups, perhaps only some members of each of a number of such groups—aboriginal tribal and political distinctions were doubtless blurred and partly erased by the mission era. The criteria Miller (1934-35, *passim*) uses to distinguish the three locally recognized Guarani-speaking groups of the present East Paraguayan area may reflect primarily the degree of assimilation of these groups.

⁴⁸ Cf. Watson, J. B., *The Cayuá*.

⁴⁹ Significantly enough, there is without doubt no period prior or subsequent to that of the Jesuits which can compare in number of documentary sources regarding the Indians of the region.

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177 nearly the collection, although presumably the Jews had wanted to change
177 the original role of the man in the collection of the mission. Little
241 was not to be said at this time as to the nature of Jewish influence.

THEORY OF THE MIND AND THE OTHER DIMENSION
THE TO CL. 1951

175 The post-Jewish period was marked by many disturbances and difficulties
648 in the region of the mission. These difficulties also had their repercussions in
177 the affairs of the Capital. The confusion and chaos occasioned by the change
from Jewish administration to a new one, or rather to the growing lack of any
administration at all, was aggravated by the conflict involved in the separation
of Spain's Pacific provinces from the mother country. While among the
various former Spanish colonies Italy ranked in the political forefront
of present Uruguay, Paraguay, and Argentina. Portugal (that is, through
Brazil) became involved in a struggle for possession of the lands of eastern
Uruguay. These political changes then were accompanied by military operations, and at least several armed engagements took place.

175 The revolutionaries of Europe, which politics directly affected the
245 fortunes of the Indians, though largely only those remaining in or near the
648 mission. They were sometimes involved as troops on one side or the other,
and their Indian towns were seized, looted, used for barracks, or destroyed.
The mission was also generally neglected, or the interests of the Indians
were frankly sacrificed in spite of the avowed mission policy, the "Plan
of Buenos Aires." Concern for the welfare of the missioned as distinct from the
colonialist Indian diminished. The physical decay and destruction of the
mission towns themselves was clearly followed by the dissolution of the
social order instituted by the Jews.

During the post-Jewish period the attraction of man provided a continuing
medium for contact between Indians and Paraguayans. Such exploitation of
the forest resources of the area had been going on since pre-Jewish times.
There had early grown up some commerce in the forest, both within the
Pacific colony itself and with Peru. Since the beginning of large-scale use of
man for leverage purposes, it was natural that this forest industry should
also bring the peasants, or yoke (man) workers, into brief but recurring
contact with the forest people. Coming out the man leaves in large quantities
involved going into the forests, and particularly forests which had not already
been cut over. Furthermore, some of the best man groves seem then to have
been, as they are at present, rather closely coincident with the territory occupied
by the "wood Indians" or Cayul. Ames and Ruggie,* both writing
during the period in question, not only indicate positive contact with wood
Indians, but Ruggie, at least, also gives some idea of its nature. He mentions

* Ruggie, 1951, pp. 117-118.

* Ames, 1951, pp. 42-43.

* C. H. Henshaw, 1951.

* Ruggie, 1951, p. 117 and p. 121.

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CAPOE GURUPA GROUP

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The Capoe as carrying trade goods, tools, provisions, medicines, and tobacco, in exchange usually for their services in cutting cane, but sometimes for food supplied to prisoners. One of the Capoe met by Ranger on his journey in the early 1930's had been raised by a *matrilineal family of mixed Portuguese and Indian* and was very old indeed. Ranger observed also that traditional hair styles and the prohibition of the lip to permit the use of the *hook* (lip plug for male initiation) were no longer universal. This was apparently a result of acculturation and one to be observed especially among the younger men.*

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RELATIVELY IMPULSED MIGRATIONS, 1800 TO 1880

During the first half of the 19th century, some Capoe and other Guaraní-speaking peoples from the northwestern Brazil and eastern Paraguay (?) region migrated from their traditional homeland; their route was toward the Atlantic. Although they were impressively similar in character to other historic migrations of Tupi-Guaraní peoples,* the migrations stemming from the Mato Grosso area were historically independent. Thus they represent parallelism and are not comparable to the spread from tribe to tribe of the Ghost Dance among North American Indians. There may have been some local diffusion involved, however, as between Apapocoro-Guaraní, Capoe, and possibly other groups. The years suggested in the heading of this section, 1812-1880, are those which von Haring** used to date the period between the first appearance of the Capoe in the state of São Paulo and the time when the migrations into that state ceased. The beginnings of the migration impulse, and certainly the final dwindling away of these impulses in their dynamic phase, overlap these dates.

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Disappointingly little is known of this most suggestive chapter in the history of the Capoe, as well as of the parallel events in the history of other Guaraní peoples of the region. The late German-Brazilian ethnographer, Kurt Uebel Nimuendajú, to whom we may pay well-deserved tribute here in passing, dealt in the early 1930's with small remnants, largely "Apapocoro-Guaraní," of some of these migrant bands. Nimuendajú knew these people at the bitter end of their fruitless attempt to reach the ocean where they felt

* *Ibid.*, p. 11. A Chiriguano group.

** There is no way to be sure that the list of emigrations given by Ranger are necessarily due entirely to prisoners and not in part to Jewish status influences. Nor can we be sure that Ranger is applying the term for "Wash Indians" only to members of the present Capoe and not to other closely related but more acculturated groups of Guaraní-speakers. The group cited by Ranger was, of course, those more accessible to definition, and contact with prisoners and other emigrants may have been much less or actually non-existent at that time according to the north. (A member of the Capoe group at Tapajós, certainly no older than 30 years, stated in 1940 that he could personally remember the first contacts of his group with whites. This young individual, whose trade goods have certainly been among them for more than 30 years.) Ranger's comments on Indians, however, the general trend toward conditions which prevailed regarding the Guaraní-speaking groups.

* Cf. Nimuendajú, 1937.

** Von Haring, 1937.

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- 167 They would attain "the land of no evil."¹⁰ Beyond the immediate causes of
 175 their search for the promised land, and the prophetic leadership of powerful
 177 shamans, little more is known as to what other causes, if any, were present
 179 in their situation to explain the migration impulse. Were these conditions
 181 circumstances related to disorders of wave contact, for example, as they have been
 183 in other places?

That Cayú participated, perhaps both as members of "Guarani" groups as well as in their own Cayú bands, is indicated. Nimuendaji mentions one or two Cayú in the "Guarani" groups he studied. It is also known, as has been mentioned, that between 1832 and 1850 Cayú bands were entering the states of Paraná and São Paulo, to the east of their native habitat.¹¹ Both Sampaio and von Koenigswald, writing around the turn of the century, report Cayú still in the valley of the Paranapanema, supposedly where they had been arrested in the course of their eastward pilgrimage.¹² Sampaio merely reports their presence and makes a few comments on the Indians, including a brief Cayú vocabulary; but von Koenigswald goes a bit farther, apparently concluding that the valley of the Paranapanema was not the original Cayú habitat. Unaware (?), however, of the messianic-religious nature of their impulse to migration, von Koenigswald attributes the presence of the Cayú here simply to disturbances and strife which had caused them to remove eastward from their homeland. This does not explain, first, why (apparently) only small numbers of the total Cayú migrated. Second, why should this migration to escape white disturbances have taken a direction which would obviously bring the Cayú into much closer contact than ever with westward moving Europeans? Their erstwhile career had always been one of avoidance.

A map published in 1911 gives some idea of the Cayú remnants to be seen east of the Rio Paraná in that year.¹³ Baldis discusses briefly the state of acculturation in 1928 of a group of Guarani (still extant) who at least achieved their purpose of reaching the ocean—near Santos. Their original drive was not thus to be consummated, certainly, as they found there no "land without evil."¹⁴

No study earlier than that of Nimuendaji is known of the Apapocura part in the movement, and none at all is known of the role of the Cayú. It may safely be assumed that the Cayú motives were much akin to those of the Apapocura-Guarani on the basis of their general cultural and linguistic similarity, their contiguous location, and the contemporaneity of the migra-

¹⁰ Uebel, 1914.

¹¹ Gaidel, 1946, p. 15, very convincingly maintains that there were already sizable numbers of long-established "Paiaguá" (Cayú) in the state of São Paulo, at least at one locality, the neighborhood of Pirassununga, but presumably also more widely scattered. Although this particular case is partly made and his scholarship inadequate, the possibility cannot be entirely dismissed, granted the rather lacunary state of pertinent documentary sources.

¹² Sampaio, 1900; Von Koenigswald, 1908.

¹³ Watson, J. R., 1941, or Von Ruedig, 1911.

¹⁴ Baldis, 1929.

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time of the two groups. In their migration, the Cayuá, as well as the Apapocua, reaffirmed their affinity with Tupi-Guarani cultures in general; for as Métraux has argued, the cultures of these peoples are somewhat disposed toward religious movements of messianic character, and the migration from southern Brazil is therefore by no means unique.¹²

We do not know whether all groups of Cayuá (and "Guarani") participated to some extent in the movement or not. Whether the groups found today in the traditional habitat of the Cayuá were uniformly non-participants or were merely involved to a lesser extent are questions to which the answers are likewise unknown. Such details might be most significant in bringing out further the character of the movement, its messianic aspects and the role of the shamans. Certainly not all groups were equally fervent in their resolution to carry on in spite of difficulties and obstacles. The main idea seems to have been that the everyday work of the people would no longer be necessary in life, as soon as the spiritual aims, particularly the finding of "the land of no evil," were accomplished. Regular economic pursuits were to be abandoned, therefore, and the people were to prepare themselves spiritually for what was prophesied to come. Dancing ceremonies were a prominent part of the spiritual preparation, and certain groups, although probably not all—not even from the start, set out across country to find the promised land. This place was identified as being near the Atlantic Ocean, or somehow connected with it. Some groups, however, either turned back as a unit or lost a part of their cohorts as soon as they encountered the initial obstacles. Doubt and dissension as to whether to continue seem to have arisen at various times in their travels, and practically all groups finally abandoned their objective before ever reaching the ocean. An important factor in the strength of conviction of different groups was probably the prestige of their respective shaman leaders, and the extent to which the shamans themselves believed in their prophecies and trusted their interpretations of supernatural portents.

The resistance of Brazilian settlers in the territories through which the pilgrims must pass was apparently very important in deflecting them from their purpose. This contact is important in Cayuá acculturation for it was the most intense and direct meeting of Cayuá with Europeans up to that date. While doubtless some groups were affected by contact much more than others, there was at least a residual effect on groups who may not have migrated at all or who may not have arrived in such proximity to the settlers as the most advanced migrants. There is no indication that the Cayuá were themselves generally aggressive in their relations with the Neo-Brazilian population, and, indeed, it would be very surprising if such were the case. Some of the relations were nevertheless marked by hostility and disadvantage to the Indians.¹³

In retrospect, the record of this most significant chapter in the history of

¹² Métraux, 1927, *passim*.

¹³ Cf. Watson, J. B., 1943, pp. 12-13.

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775 the Cayuf has tantalizing suggestions of parallels with the Vailala Madness,
668 the Ghost Dance, and other large scale general reactions of societies to
crisis situations (contra-acculturative or nativistic movements). But the ac-
count appears to be forever lost to us except in its broad and more superficial
outlines.

1850-1910: BRAZILIAN EXPANSION WESTWARD
(PARAGUAYAN WAR, 1865-1870)

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775 The present arbitrary division of Cayuf history is particularly evident in
668 this period: there are really no convenient markers. The period is characterized
primarily by the slow movement of the European colonizers westward. The
movement was much slower, considering the earlier initial dates of European
settlement of the Brazilian littoral, than the westward movement of Europeans
in North America; but by 1850 it had probably reached the point where it began
directly to concern the Cayuf of Mato Grosso. Eighteen hundred and fifty is
rather late, however, if we wish to consider the *bandeirantes*. These early Indian
slavers, adventurers, and gold and diamond seekers from the state of São Paulo
had already coursed large parts of the interior of Brazil, and particularly had
depredated the mission territory of the Jesuits. The main period of *bandeirante*
exploration was from the latter part of the 16th century to about 1750.
Although the *bandeirante* movements did not generally constitute a "holding"
operation—and certainly never a large scale one—it is true that here and there
tiny remnants of these adventurous bands remained to eke out their existence.
Their ultimate mode of life almost always was other than that of mining gold
or trading in Indians, the principal original motives which had led them on. In
the southern third of Mato Grosso it is apparent that there were established,
perhaps long before 1850, at least a few descendants of original *bandeirante*
families who had eventually become almost feudal lords of vast rude domains.
In that region cattle could be efficiently produced. The European influence
of such inhabitants of pastoral Mato Grosso was certainly filtered and diluted
by their difficulties and lack of contact with the far distant coastal centers;
for not even the western part of São Paulo state could at this time boast of
much Europeanization. Besides the larger cattle owners, there were apparently
also poor, degraded, marginal people, half-native and half-European (a desig-
nation which also applied fairly well to the cattlemen themselves), who doubt-
less acted somewhat as intermediaries for acculturational influences. Sporadic
contact between these frontiersmen and the Indians—in particular, the
Cayuf—is indicated by Sodré in his account of the Brazilian development of
the region.¹⁰⁰

An idea of the degree of development of the Paulista west is given in Godoi's
statement that "Somewhat before 1823 the first [white] travellers arrived in
these territories [region of Rio Claro and Pirassununga], perhaps a caravan

¹⁰⁰ Sodré, 1941, *passim*.

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with valuable goods or driving herds.¹⁷⁴ (The opposite migration of some of the Cayuá themselves, already dealt with foregoing, supposedly began only a few years afterward.) In 1855 there was a short-lived attempt to settle Cayuá Indians on a reservation in the state of Paraná, at Loreto de Pirapó, a former mission site on a tributary of the Paranapanema.¹⁷⁵ These latter events, however, affected primarily the more easterly groups of Cayuá, those who had crossed the Paraná; the bulk of the Cayuá were still located in southern Mato Grosso and eastern Paraguay.

In 1865-1870, however, there came a series of events which brought the Europeans to the front doorstep, so to speak, of even the less adventurous Cayuá. The Paraguayan War, little known to Americans because of our own contemporary preoccupations, fell within this period. From the sources consulted, it does not seem that the Cayuá participated as troops or auxiliaries on either side, although de Taunay mentions a number of other groups of Indians of the general region as having been variously "loyal" or "traitorous" to the Brazilians.¹⁷⁶ Nevertheless, even as bystanders, the Cayuá could hardly have been entirely unaffected by the alarms and excursions occasioned by the campaigns of the military. Frontier skirmishes took place near their territory, military supplies and troops were moved across southern Mato Grosso, and many more Brazilians, including Negro slaves become soldiers, came into the area than ever before. Some of the soldiers stayed in the region, adding to the numbers of the intrepid *seringueiros* (inhabitants of the *sertão* or interior) who had already become established there as cattlemen. With the passage of time, it was becoming less and less possible for the Cayuá to remain the wary "people of the forest" as of old; while they still stayed largely on the fringes of civilization as best they could, civilization was now advancing toward them, and white activity on its frontier was becoming more intense and varied. With a renewed interest in the southern frontier part of her territory as a result of the Paraguayan War,¹⁷⁷ Brazil saw the early forerunners of her "*marcha para o oeste*" reinforced.

Cattle have always been for Europeans the principal wealth in southern Mato Grosso and are so still today. But in the extreme south grow the natural groves of *mato* trees, and the turn of the century witnessed the extension of large-scale and well organized *mato* industry north from Paraguay and Argentina into southernmost Mato Grosso. The name of one company, with comparatively great resources, was largely associated with this development, the *Companhia Mato Larangeira*, of Spanish and Argentine connections. The sites of their operations in Brazil have moved from time to time, but almost all

¹⁷⁴ Godol, 1946, p. 9. Surely the *bandeirantes* are being excerpted here.

¹⁷⁵ Von Koenigswald, 1908.

¹⁷⁶ Taunay, Visconde de, 1931, *passim*.

¹⁷⁷ As far as Brazil was concerned, the war with Paraguay was partly a matter of the claim of that country to a large part of southern Mato Grosso. Here, very likely, there were as many people living who could be called "Paraguayans" as "Brazilians."

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[464] have been precisely in the region where the Cayuá live. Cayuá were occasionally employed as workers by the company—although Paraguayans seem to be preferred for most of the back-breaking, miserably paid types of work which are the lot of the Indians and *mestizos*. The *mata* enterprise in Mato Grosso has, therefore, been another and recent avenue of acculturational contact for the Cayuá. The extension of a large scale development of the *mata* resources north from Paraguay, however, was but a modernized version of the same type of forest exploitation which had long been going on to the south and which had, since the days before the Jesuits, brought the Paraguayans into intermittent contact with the forest-dwelling peoples.

Unlike cattle and *mata*, which were directly responsible for bringing small numbers of settlers to the region itself, the moving forward of the coffee frontier in São Paulo affected directly only those Cayuá who had migrated across the Rio Paraná. But the westward advance of coffee cultivation in the late 19th and 20th centuries did bring Neo-Brazilians closer to the eastern frontier of Mato Grosso and tended to strengthen settlements already there. Moreover, some immigrants spilled over into the newer state when they felt the need of new lands to conquer.

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[657] By 1914 a narrow gauge railroad had been laid, connecting São Paulo centers with the Mato Grosso cattle town of Campo Grande. Several trains a week began to arrive from Bauré in São Paulo state (where a "Guarani" reservation was still located when Nimuendajú made his Apapocuva study). A few more years saw the railroad push on almost to Corumbá on the Paraguay River. Thus nearly the entire southern, and narrower, section of the state of Mato Grosso—which lies between the two rivers—was girded, from the Paraná to the Paraguay.¹¹⁰

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[361] Although the *Estrada de Ferro Noroeste do Brasil* lay several hundred miles to the north of Taquapiri, other Cayuá villages were located as much as half the distance closer to the line. The general influence of the railroad was felt in the opening up of communication to the east and in the increasing flow of goods from Brazilian ports and coastal city industries. Trade goods, with little doubt, became considerably easier for the Indians to obtain at this time whereas they had been difficult enough even for the white settlers before. Here and there throughout the southern part of the state, in tiny Neo-Brazilian hamlets and in the few small towns, general stores or trading posts

¹¹⁰ "A *Estrada de Ferro Noroeste do Brasil*," still a narrow gauge line, is today (1943) operated with no important improvements in rail or rolling stock since its inception. It is the only railroad in southern Mato Grosso, or, indeed, in the entire enormous state, unless one considers the little "Madeira-Mamoré" line in the north. (This is nothing but a rail connection between fluvial communications on those two rivers.) The "*Noroeste do Brasil*" is ultimately destined, by an international treaty long since signed, to be a joint Bolivian-Brazilian enterprise giving inland Bolivia a continuous rail connection with Campinas, São Paulo, and the port of Santos, and hence a fairly effective outlet to the sea. Recently a small branch line has been built from the main *Noroeste* line south to the Brazilian town of Ponta Porá, on the Paraguay frontier. This will further stimulate Neo-Brazilian penetration, consolidation, and development of the region.

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grew up. At the present time, these are supplied partly by motor trucks which link them to the railroad towns. The trucks are usually operated by small, individual owners, whose trade and tradition are closely related to that of the older oxcart drivers. Many more of the latter than truck drivers still traverse the frontier region at present, earning their living by moving merchandise. Both trucks and oxen operate over incredibly crude roads; there are now Chevrolets and Fords where there should be only oxcarts—or perhaps prairie schooners, if such a suitable innovation were to be introduced.

THE SERVIÇO DE PROTEÇÃO AOS INDIOS, 1910 TO THE PRESENT

The second decade of the 20th century saw the continuing general increase of white settler population, the growth of a few villages into small towns like Ponta Porã, and the development of limited communications (the railroad) with Brazil's coastal centers. But the major factor justifying setting off one more period between 1850 and the present was the projection and establishment of the SPI. In fact, the establishment of the SPI was a result of the population and development of the interior of Brazil; the Neo-Brasílian had been brought more and more into contact with indigenes who had up to that time escaped the fate of their more coastally living cousins.

The activity of the frontiersman was often unfortunate in its effect upon the native peoples, though doubtless the Neo-Brasílian alleged that primarily it was he who suffered at the hands of the *bugre* (pejorative term for the Indian). The details of frontiersman-Indian relations on such relatively near frontiers as the west of the state of São Paulo diminish not a little the contentions of writers like Gilberto Freyre that the Portuguese colonizers were particularly exempt from the disposition to regard other races as sub-human. Godoi alleges that the Indians living in that region were unacquainted with the difference between bitter and non-poisonous manioc (!). To prevent garden robbing the settlers about Pirassununga allegedly thus conceived the idea of planting the bitter or poisonous variety.¹¹¹ Von Ihering, certainly no advocate of sentimental or exceptionally humanitarian treatment of the aborigines, relates that professional Indian hunters or *bugreiros* existed on the frontier. Indiscriminate depredations were carried out by the Neo-Brasílians in reprisal for Indian aggressions, often with little attention to whether the resulting victims were the original perpetrators or even of the same tribe.¹¹² Actually various islands of Kaingang among the advancing Brasileians maintained markedly hostile relations with the frontiersmen until surprisingly late times (easily into the 1900's)—this east of the Paraná. But the Cayuá were little inclined toward aggressions against the settlers; their activity was probably more of the garden-robbing variety. However, the implication is that they occasionally suffered from the frontiersmen for other than their own acts. It was conditions such as these that called into being a federal agency to deal with the Indians.

¹¹¹ Godoi, 1946, p. 26.¹¹² Von Ihering, 1907.174*
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775 The SPI was founded in 1910, and among the first regional *inspetorias*
 • 648 to be formed was that of southern Mato Grosso, with present seat in Campo
 657 Grande. Under the administration of this local office came the "Caietés" who were calculated to be "the most numerous tribe of the south of the state" (Mato Grosso). In other words, while the founding of the SPI did not immediately affect the affairs of the vast majority of Brazilian tribes—and still today scarcely affects some groups—the Cayuá were at the other end of the scale, being among the first to be singled out by the Indian Service.

[797] Founded at the instigation of Brazil's famous explorer, Indianist, and modern frontiersman, General Cândido Mariano da Silva Rondon, the *Serviço* reflected Rondon's concern for the Indians. They should receive some definition and guarantee of their rights, protection from frontier abuses, and guidance particularly of a non-clerical and non-sectarian sort, in the problems of adjustment to the new conditions facing them. It was common practice merely to sign over the souls of all the native inhabitants of this or that vast tract of Brazilian territory to some Roman Catholic order. The bland assumption was often made that in this way all was therefore arranged for the best of the respective Indians.¹²³ Rondon had seen at first hand many tribes in their natural setting and he was well aware of the abuses, secular and clerical, from which they suffered.

[871] Specifically the plan of the SPI was to organize regional *inspetorias* and local posts, as many as were needed, and, where possible, new ones as soon as they were needed owing to a recent advance of the frontier. As soon as land became a question, the Indian territories were to be duly defined and registered. Complaints by Indians of land or other transgressions of Brazilians were to be lodged with the *encarregado* of their local post, and this officer was in all matters to serve as intermediary between whites and Indians. The *Serviço* would also play a positive role in urging the Indians to adopt measures which seemed to their best interests. Schools for Indians were to be established wherever feasible.

648 For many reasons, not our direct concern here, the effect of the *Serviço*
 871 has not always been exactly what it was designed to be. Among the Cayuá,
 657 the schools affect only a very limited number of children—even of those who happen to live in the local group where a post is located. There are no dormitory or transportation facilities provided—the very idea would be ridiculous and unheard of in the present context. Practically nobody outside the immediate area of the post is therefore affected by the school. Schooling is at the hands of the wife of the *encarregado* in at least two of the three posts of the Cayuá, and neither of these women in 1943 had even as much as a complete grade school education. Nor did either have any special conception of what kind of teaching Cayuá, as distinct from Brazilian, children might put to advantage. The children are taught allegiance, the national anthem, and national lore, and some of the children's lore with which Brazilians in general

¹²³ Such vast territories are, however, assigned to Roman Catholic orders still today.

grow up. It is scarcely conceivable that these things can have much meaning for Cayuá children. Some attempt is made to teach elementary reading and simple numbers, but it would be a surprise to the writer to learn that any important and lasting result is achieved in this. The number of children receiving instruction is small in relation to the untaught; school is held for only a small part of the year and is quite irregular. The level of teaching is low, unprofessional, and little adapted to Cayuá needs or comprehension. The result is simply that the school as a factor of acculturation certainly cannot be great, particularly in relation to its potentialities. Cayuá schools are not attended by Brazilian children but only by Cayuá (1943), which closes one other possible avenue of Brazilianization.

Two principal results of SPI policy stand out in the case of the Cayuá. One is the confinement of the indigenes to reservations which have been assigned them and whose limits have been drawn and recorded; and the other is that the Cayuá are now guaranteed freedom from any large scale attack on their persons or rights, either by whites or by other Indians. This was not formerly the case when they were subject, as has been mentioned, to attacks of both Indians and white settlers.

In general the Cayuá are now allowed to work out their destiny as they see fit so long as this does not raise a troublesome question on which the *encarregado* would have to take a stand. The *encarregado* generally keeps a light finger on the local pulse, often informally through his Cayuá house servants or other favorites. Often, if not always, he makes the real decision in naming the *capitão* and *sargento*, the civil or police authority in the local group. These officers would presumably look to the *encarregado* for backing if their position in their own groups were for some reason not equal to a difficult situation. This dependence is more likely to be true of groups located within easy range of the post, however, than of those at considerable distance. SPI practice, as observed by the writer in southern Mato Grosso, does not seem calculated to develop self-reliance in the Cayuá; rather it is aimed merely at keeping some sort of opportunistic peace in white-Cayuá relations.

The attitudes of local settlers toward the Indians, often expressed openly, and, in any case, obvious in their behavior toward the Cayuá, is one of tacit superiority. The Indians "are not really people" (*gente*); they are merely "forest creatures," "children" ("*bichos do mato*," "*crianças*"). And often, when not cheated or threatened, they are treated with an attitude of amused contempt. In some respects both the *encarregados* of Cayuá posts known by the writer shared more in this widespread point of view than in the high-minded idealism of the SPI creed.

As far as is known, no special effort is made by the SPI Cayuá posts to improve agriculture or introduce new crops or methods. It is possible that some of the Indians may learn new ways from working in the clearing (*roça*) of the *encarregado* or that he may casually suggest some new practice to them or jokingly chide them for doing something which he considers useless

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* 648 or inefficient. This is ordinarily no more than the same Indians might learn
 777 from the settler for whom they work. The *encarregado* is among some of the
 241 Indians more than the ordinary settler, however, and whatever influences
 657 he may exert are, therefore, more intensive and frequent than those of most
 other Brazilians.

648 The official attitude of the SPI toward religion and missionization is
 657 neutral. They do not themselves catechize the Indians as a part of the policy
 797 of the *Serviço*, and they are indifferent, varying in given local cases from personal
Serviço friendliness to mild antagonism, toward the missionaries. These the
 ethnographers.¹²⁴ Rondon himself and many of his associates are members
 of the Brazilian so-called "*Igreja Positivista*" ("Positivist Church"), and the
Serviço in general has the reputation of being oriented philosophically in that
 direction. This is perhaps surprising in a Catholic country like Brazil where
 in many other respects the government feels under no restraint as far as
 making large official concessions to Rome.

As for the Cayuá, they seem to be the somewhat unusual case (for Catholic
 countries) in which Protestant missionaries have become more thoroughly
 established than Catholic ones. At least two of the three SPI posts of the
 Cayuá have Protestant missionaries, long established. At one of these, União,
 there are no other missionaries and no other church of any kind; and at the
 other post, Dourados, a Protestant group has a much more extensive and well-
 rooted establishment than the Catholics, with a resident physician, an orphan-
 [597] age and nursery-school, and a good name in the region. (The physician, in
 fact, is the only qualified person of his profession for many miles. In this
 respect, the Indians are, therefore, much better cared for than the local Bra-
 zilian settlers, except as the latter may in emergencies enlist the aid of the
 mission.)

* 177 No great inroads of conversion seem to have been made, but the writer
 797 is qualified to speak only of the more southerly post at União. There the
 [294] (female) missionary said frankly she did not have a single convert. The
 missions, nevertheless, exert a certain influence even without nominal conver-
 sion, both in the spiritual and secular spheres. At União the mission house is a
 center for a sizeable circle of women who gather to learn to operate hand
 sewing machines and incidentally to do much of their sewing work on machines
 [562] which the mission owns. Because this missionary is a woman, her effect is
 notably greater in the woman's sphere than among the men of the group.
 (There was formerly a male American missionary and his wife stationed
 [533] here.) Evangelical hymns translated into Guarani (for the general Paraguayan
 area) are taught as well as Christian precepts and homilies, sewing, gardening,
 and cooking. Any lasting effects of this work, however, are probably reduced

[123] ¹²⁴ Nor are they initially disposed to greet the ethnographer with open arms; some very
 amateurish individuals representing themselves as ethnographers have not helped the situation.

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somewhat by the fact that many of the local Brazilians live in a manner not markedly different, in the missionary view, from that of the present Cayuá. (This is not true of a majority.) The direct influence of the mission here, like that of the SPI post itself, is concentrated in the one local Cayuá group and scarcely filters beyond, except by verbal account. Much of the nominal adherence of some of the local Indians to the mission seems to be based on its material advantages. The use of sewing machines, gifts of food and clothing, and suggestions concerning remedies, health, and particulars of domestic art are the reward of those who attend the prayer meetings and informal services, and who in general associate themselves with the mission.¹¹⁵ Summing up the mission influence in the South to date, it could certainly not yet be called profound, even among the Cayuá where the mission is located, and it is largely absent elsewhere. 177* 797

The *Inspetoria do SPI* which administers the Indian affairs of the Cayuá area is located at Campo Grande and was one of the first, if not the first, to be established. The local post which has jurisdiction over the village of Taquapiri, the particular group from which materials central to this monograph were secured, was established rather recently, about 1930. This post, "Benjamin Constant"—SPI posts are generally named for famous men of Brazil, is some twenty miles distant from Taquapiri over a two-rut oxcart road, also passable in the dry season and with difficulty by motor trucks.¹¹⁶ 648 • 657

The children of Taquapiri do not go to school and very likely do not even know what school is, though some of their cousins twenty miles away at the post are at least aware of schools.¹¹⁷ The Cayuá of Taquapiri may be visited by the *encarregado* as few as two or three times a year.¹¹⁸ Such visits entail [871]

¹¹⁵ There may, however, be some interest of a spiritual sort as well. A group of Cayuá men from our village, including a shaman in training, made the twenty-five mile trip with us to the post one time on foot, partly to visit the missionary, to hear her play her accordion and sing hymns with Guarani words. There was, probably, as much musical interest—unusual songs with Guarani words—as spiritual interest. [756] [533]

¹¹⁶ Motor trucks pass by Taquapiri once or twice a week during the dry season, or less often, on their way to Nbu Verá. Taquapiri is a good half-mile from the road, and the Indians know the trucks principally only by sight and sound—they are simply of another world. When as many as two trucks a day go by—as happened once or twice during our stay, it is stated by the local settlers that something unusual must be afoot. There are no public garages or fuelling places, that the writer knows of, in the entire region because there are not enough motor vehicles to require it. Gasoline is simply carried along by the trucks themselves or may occasionally be bought in cans in some of the larger towns. [648] [494]

¹¹⁷ The Cayuá children are not greatly different from many local Brazilian children in this ignorance of schools, however, for probably a majority of the latter will grow up and die with no formal schooling. There is no school of any sort for the settlers in the region about Taquapiri and only a poor elementary one at União itself, the nearest "center," but too far to travel for schooling. [871] [648]

¹¹⁸ There was no occasion to observe this frequency. We were merely told by the *encarregado* that he made it a point to visit Taquapiri every few months. He came twice during our entire five month stay, one time being when he accompanied us to visit Taquapiri initially.

• 648 little beyond casual inspection and brief questioning of the local officers.
 657 Taquapiri has a *capitão* and a *sargento*, in part selected and by necessity approved by the *encarregado*.¹²⁹ *Sargento* and *capitão* have tacitly understood, though quite limited, authority and prerogatives now but no pay, badge of office, nor other special considerations. If any difficulty arises which could not conceivably die of its own accord, the *encarregado* may be compelled to intervene; otherwise, he might not even hear of it or would choose to ignore the report. The *encarregado* of "Benjamin Constant" stated in 1943 that he had not been visited by nor himself gone to see the chief of the region of which his post is an administrative part for a considerable number of years. All in all, the policy of the SPI toward the Cayuá is largely a passive or negative one, at least in its net effect. Certainly no program was in evidence which was calculated to introduce large-scale, consciously directed change. That undirected change of significance may come about in any case, however, is quite evident from the visible results of SPI activity or lack of it.

648 By far the most important single channel of acculturational influence at
 464 the present is the practice of local settlers to employ Cayuá to work for them in their clearings (*roças*) as "peons" (*peões*). The employment of Indians is not necessarily linked to any large-scale activity which makes it indispensable for the settlers to have more labor than their own families provide but is partly related to prestige factors in the local Neo-Brazilian culture.¹³⁰ At any rate, the practice results in a larger number of contacts between Neo-Brazilians and Cayuá (men) and for longer periods of time than any other of the gamut of local white-Indian relations. Although great intimacy could hardly be claimed for the relations of *peão* and *patrão*, they are at least as intimate as any others between Cayuá and settler. The *peão-patrão* relationship is discussed in detail under a subsequent heading (see pp. 75-78), but it may be emphasized here that men are almost exclusively involved in these inter-ethnic relations. At Taquapiri only a handful of men speak Portuguese with any proficiency, and many speak it not at all. But there is not a single woman in the village who can speak Portuguese (or Spanish) except for a few loan-words, mostly borrowed along with the alien culture traits to which they refer.¹³¹ Thus among the Cayuá, as in many places elsewhere in the world, where comparable acculturational situations have occurred, the women are perforce the cultural conservators.

¹²⁹ The use of these titles, largely as honorific appellations, seems to derive from the early colonial period when the Europeans sought to curry favor with certain individuals by thus flattering them.

¹³⁰ Cf. Watson, V. D., 1945, pp. 159-160.

¹³¹ The same acculturational difference between men and women may not everywhere be as great among Cayuá, but the condition generally holds.

*177 are consistent to a certain degree with their contention. They say that the
 243 gods do not approve when large quantities of flint corn are planted and smaller
 [173] quantities of the flour type, which is a divine gift. In spite of going this far,
 however, it is quite obvious that Cayuá now do sometimes plant more *tupe*¹
 than *monoff*², intending the greater harvest largely for sale. Cutler says, "The
 flour types appear to be the older form."¹²⁶ It is possible, therefore, that the
 Cayuá have grafted onto some aboriginal distinction between an older and
 supernaturally sanctioned flour corn (*monoff*²) and a more recent flint type
 (*tupe*¹) the modern rationalization that the latter is white-introduced. The
 present trading association of hard corn may also have had some influence. In
 any event, it is clear that some few plants have been introduced to Cayuá agri-
 culture by acculturation and that the aboriginal production ratios between
 one crop and another have been somewhat changed as a result of white influ-
 ence.

*177 Hunting and fishing have changed less than agriculture but a few accul-
 *178 turational features are to be noted. In fishing, white-introduced metal hooks
 224 are used for angling. Machetes are now often used when hunting with dogs;
 226 clubs have presumably given way to machetes in this and have disappeared
 altogether. Firearms are known, and a very few Cayuá possess them.¹²⁷ The
 bow and arrow is the missile weapon used by the largest number, and it does
 not seem to have suffered basically, either as to variety of arrow points or as to
 the knowledge of its use, from acculturational change.

*177 Technologically, gathering has been largely unaffected and also probably
 *178 has been little influenced by acculturational factors as to its importance in the
 222 total economy. In honey-gathering the machete and axe have provided some
 412 advantage over any conceivable aboriginal method. These metal implements
 415 are used to cut open the trees or stumps where the wild bees make their nests.
 Kerosene cans and *aguardente* (Brazilian alcoholic drink made of cane juice)
 bottles are now also found convenient for catching and storing the honey.

224 Although apparently little affected by acculturation as to technology, the
 226 non-agricultural forms of food production are now completely subsidiary. In
 433 some respects hunting and fishing theoretically may now even be dispensable.
 Practically every able-bodied Cayuá man (and woman, within the limits of
 her status) is an agriculturist. But many men do very little hunting or fishing.
 Even the motives for these lesser activities are now somewhat special and
 include the desire for variation of activity and for relief from the largely vege-

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*

¹²⁷ In 1943 only one person at Tequapiri had a firearm usable for hunting, an ancient Belgian
 shotgun, for which he sometimes bought powder and shot and loaded his own shells. A story was
 current among the Cayuá at that time that "the Government" had issued an order for all firearms
 to be taken from the Indians. Apparently certain local whites had "cooperated" in this, taking the
 arms for themselves.

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not yet fallen off as much as in pottery, must remain for the future to say.¹²²

Craft specialization among men includes the manufacture of strainer-winnowing trays and of women's back baskets with tumplines, to cite only the more common and important ones. The making of strainer-winnowing trays is not an industry which is dying, and its practitioners are not, therefore, simply fewer and fewer. The need for this item of domestic equipment has continued among the Cayuá themselves, and its use has developed among local Neo-Brazilians, who do not manufacture their own trays. Specialization is nevertheless present, for some Cayuá in 1943 indicated that they always obtained their winnowing trays from certain others who were quite good at making them.¹²³

It cannot be flatly denied, of course, since documentary evidence is lacking, that craft specialization of the present sort existed formerly. But at least one point seems to indicate the opposite: informants who were asked about whether or not they were able to make certain things usually indicated that they felt they *should* be able to make them, even in cases where they confessed they were not.

The second and more important type of specialization, which we have called work alternatives, is the result of alternative activities which did not exist aboriginally in Cayuá culture. The most important of these alternatives is that of working in *changa* (wage-work) for settlers in return for desired white goods such as cloth, salt, grease, meat, metal tools, and the like, or for money pay with which such goods can be purchased at the *beliche* or trading post. Formerly a man worked for himself or his family—or worked jointly with other Cayuá, with the expectation of reciprocity in kind. There was no wage work or employment. Now, although practically all still work for themselves, few do so exclusively; and a very few—perhaps no more than three or four men at Taquapirí—are actually even deficient in their own home production, because they spend so much (most Cayuá do not hesitate to say "too much") time in working in *changa*. The few individuals who are thus behind in the work of their own *kokwé* are naturally those who are also most in need of having a *puñirido* joint work party to help them catch up. But by the same token, these men are often the very individuals who would be unable to give a *puñirido* (unless with the help of a relative) for lack of the necessary agricultural stores with which to make *cáurí* for the required drinking fest. Some men work a great deal as peons, some only moderately, and a few not at all, and most informants are well aware which individuals these are.

¹²² Conceivably perhaps, such a product as hammocks will continue in demand until long after the Cayuá are rather completely acculturated to their Neo-Brazilian surroundings and are de-tribalized. It might constitute an ethnic specialization.

¹²³ One of the most important uses of these utensils as strainers is in connection with *cáurí* which is usually strained of all the larger lumps of corn or other substance which may occur in it as it is served.

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- 465 The goods with which the Cayuá is remunerated for his work for Brazilians
 • 648 are usually white trade goods, or less commonly money, and it is for trade
 464 goods that he actually works. There would be little sense, of course, in working
 511 for things which he himself also produces in agriculture. The few individuals
 who "specialize" in wage work as a result of this modern alternative, *çangs*,
 are usually long on white trade goods and short on the food crops produced in
 the Cayuá *kedé*. Such a man may have, in Cayuá terms, a good machete, a
 hoe, and an axe, and good clothes on his own back and for his wife and children.
 He perhaps even owns a pig (which, of course, he has no means of feeding
 properly), or a horse, and probably has other things of value he has received
 from his *patró*. This same individual may also have the poorest *kedé* in the
 village and hence will have scant to eat oftentimes, although he is otherwise
 [438] much better situated than his fellows. One cannot readily barter the white
 trade goods for sufficient food, either with the Brazilians or with other Cayuá.
 The "market" is not yet that flexible; the various goods are not freely con-
 vertible in terms of each other or of money. Moreover, *çangs* is usually in-
 efficient from this point of view, although few Cayuá seem to realize it. They
 are often cheated by the Brazilians, or paid poorly for their work when no
 (466) literal cheating takes place. They are commonly charged for their "board,"
 that is, for the meager fare they receive from the *patró* while staying on his
 property for several days' work. Frequently much of what the *patró* earns he
 is encouraged to consume in the form of cheap *aguardente*. This, of course,
 costs the Cayuá considerably more than it originally cost the settler.¹²⁸
- *177 A sort of *çangs* or working for hire is now occurring on a limited scale
 464 among the Cayuá themselves. This new development suggests the manner in
 465 which modern commercial modes of thought and behavior may invade a cul-
 ture with a primitive economy, and shows how far this has taken place at
 Taquapiri. For example, one Cayuá merely agrees to pay another so much in
 cloth, or whatever it may be (usually white trade goods), in exchange for
 hoeing a certain area or planting so much manioc. A single informant was able
 to mention four or five different instances of this arrangement with which he
 was acquainted, and he knew the terms of two of them. Interestingly enough,
 the kinship of this "internal *çangs*" to its Neo-Brazilian model is even borne
 out in the Cayuá allusion to the arrangement as "*çangs*" and their joking
 references to the Indian employer as a "*patró*." The scale of pay seems to be
 about the same as that prevailing outside the village with Neo-Brazilians but
 one informant said that he would prefer to work for settlers because the pay
 was better.¹²⁹

[273] ¹²⁸ The desire for alcohol seems to be an active factor in the excessive work in *çangs* of at
 least one Cayuá at Taquapiri. Selling alcoholic beverages to Indians is said to be a Brazilian federal
 offense.

¹²⁹ One case of bad faith was observed in which the Cayuá "*patró*" paid his worker in ad-

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CAYUÁ CULTURE CHANGE

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There is some tendency for the internal change workers to be women rather than men. They are often widows or divorced women who must support themselves, with partial assistance from a brother or a father. In the present situation, these women cannot work in change for Brazilians. While some widows keep *aké* of their own or maintain a part of the *aké* of the relative with whom they live, such activity does not usually provide them with the trade goods, particularly cloth, that all Cayuá now need. Internal change for fellow villagers, in exchange for trade goods or cash, is one solution. Women are not exclusively involved in the internal change, however, as one of the most consistent internal change workers is Indício, a man who also has probably the largest *aké* of his own in the whole village. Indício never works for Neo-Brazilians, possibly because he can not speak Portuguese and would therefore be cheated or would be unable to deal with them to his interest.²⁰

The possibility of hiring other Cayuá to work for him in the *aké* seems to be one of the best solutions for the man who spends too much time abroad working for his *paíde*. It is a rather circular arrangement, of course, but one more or less in keeping with increasing specialization. It would be a mistake, nevertheless, to think that the internal change is already a commonplace at Taquapiri. One main reason why the practice is still not resorted to on a larger scale among the Cayuá is that the need and the possibility for it are not yet very great. It is presumably also true, therefore, that the number of individuals desiring wage work of their fellows is not large either. At present, the internal change serves as little more than an occasional convenience and probably is not a necessary recourse for any but a few individuals. Indeed, practically everyone is still his own farmer. But presumably the few cases of Cayuá wage employment typify acculturative change which, now that they are introduced, will ultimately become effective on a larger scale.

Change work for Brazilians is one of the most intensive channels for acculturative change of attitudes that exists. In no other connection do the Cayuá come into so frequent contact with the Neo-Brazilian, nor for such periods of time, or under such relatively intimate circumstances. The Cayuá *paíde* often leaves his village for several days or a week at a time, unless his *paíde* happens to be one of the few living within easy distance of Taquapiri. During this work period he will usually stay on the property of his *paíde* in rough quarters provided for the purpose. He will be fed from the kitchen of the *paíde*, or will at least receive raw materials for cooking if he has brought his wife and family along with him. During the day he works in the field of the

owner, and the worker never did the contracted work. This individual happened to be a man with very shallow roots in the village, and he left Taquapiri altogether before performing the work.

²⁰ This same reason, that of not being able to speak Portuguese in order to deal with a *paíde*, is given in the case of another Cayuá who is reputed one of the best agricultural workers at Taquapiri.

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464 Non-Brazilian and attention he may be accompanied in this or supervised by
 648 the settler himself. Supervision is not usually necessary from the point of view
 [463] of the Non-Brazilian in order to get his money's worth, however, because pay
 [191] is almost always on a piece-work basis. The only known exceptions are unusual
 types of work for which no standard of pay exists. Without exception, the
 Capai who speak the best Portuguese or Spanish (this is a harder region) are
 those who work in shops. Men almost exclusively are involved in this type of
 [197] acclimatization, and the linguistic differences between men and women seem to
 [562] give some measure of the acclimatization differential between them. No Tapapi
 women speak Portuguese; not all men do either, and few men speak the
 language well, but some do.

648 A limited sort of paternalism grows up in the case of some of the larger
 648 standing relationships of *pai* and *pai*, that is, in cases where the same *pai*
 466 the settler (though all do not agree) to find a good worker and to make that
 individual feel attached to him. Thus he can always count upon a *pai* when
 he needs work done. Sometimes this attachment is accomplished by the well-
 known "continued indebtedness" habit. In this the settler, at the end of a
 period of work, arranges to have the Capai still owing him something. Con-
 sequently the *pai* must return there to work the next time rather than find
 another *pai* whom he might possibly prefer. Other times, however, a definite
 effort is made by the *pai* to create the impression that he is looking after
 the *pai*'s best interests, that he will take care of him as far as seeing that the
 Capai is kept in cloth and salt, has a machete, and similar paternalistic rela-
 tions. A Capai who accedes to such a continued relationship is known, natu-
 rally, as an "Indio bom," somewhat as in the South of the United States certain
 lower caste individuals are distinguished as "good" Negroes. Often the settler,
 or more likely his wife, will "baptize" the children of the *pai*, in other words,
 suggest Brazilian Christian names to give them. Between such individual
 Capai and settlers there is a limited and highly circumstantial intimacy, a
 friendship between unequals. Such friendship cannot exist between the average
 Capai and the average Brazilian who usually have very little or nothing to do
 with each other, though there may often be some mutual knowledge of names
 and the more obvious personal details. A third to a half or more of the Capai
 at Tapapi who consistently work in shops have more or less fixed relations
 with particular *pai*s, though these may not run more than a few years in
 some cases. Some of the rest may work as much in shops but do not work as
 constantly for any one *pai*. At the time of your approach when they need
 cloth or other trade goods and find that they can give a week or so from their
 own work, unattached *pai*s are more likely to go out looking for shops with
 the first settler to offer a satisfactory arrangement. *Pai*s with steady *pai*s
 are somewhat more subject to the plans of their particular employer.

CAPSA CULTURE CHANGE

10

TRADE WITH NON-BRASILIAN

Since there are no records, it is difficult to say exactly how long trade relations with whites have existed. Their beginnings certainly go back as far as the first white goods given to the Indians in exchange for food or for work in the mine gardens; that may be 200 years ago. The volume of trade between Cayul and Non-Brazilian has probably not been important, however, until the last twenty years or so, and until even more recently the Cayul have found no regular market for anything but their labor.

At the present time there are two aspects of Cayul-Non-Brazilian trade relations: (a) the Cayul receiving white goods and (b) the Cayul trading small amounts of their produce to the whites. We shall consider these separately. Though they are, of course, closely related, these Cayul are distinct from goods brought, paying in money or bartering for them. Many more such as yarn for jackets, and the better themselves derive from the Indians, or trading goods, small stocks of trade goods of the type that find their way among the Cayul. Indian demand for trade goods is at least of sufficient volume to merit one to lead the traders to stock special merchandise. The Cayul often gather this merchandise because of lower price, because of different tastes and lack of discrimination, or they become victims in buying the merchandise priced at so much. Examples of such special "paper" (colloquial term for "bills") merchandise are an inferior grade of coal, tobacco which some of the whites would use (because it was for Indian consumption, perhaps, if for no other reason), goods valued somewhat for clothing, tools of inferior quality, and mechanical items like lanterns.¹⁰ But whatever the quality merchandise they are obliged to accept, and because much they may sometimes be forced to this dealing with Non-Brazilians, there is no mistaking that the acquisition of trade goods is now very important to the Cayul.

There is a limited list of goods which the Cayul obtain entirely from Non-Brazilians, and these they seem to feel are either indispensable or at least are goods without which they could not conveniently get along. They include cloth, thread, needles, occasionally a pair of scissors (but every family has a pair), salt and rough table sugar, soap for washing clothes primarily, although native plants are known of which the indigenous made use for soap, tools (principally agricultural), and iron pots and metal knives. These metal and "hard" (usually called) are occasionally acquired, though trade in these things is not very regular—even less so with Non-Brazilian villages large enough to afford a bazaar. The most frequent source of metal and hard is the goods

¹⁰ Among the Cayul in 1942 there was one lot of inferior Brazilian merchandise, very poor—both better the less importance as Brazilians would use it to sell small in the white goods of imported tools, Coffee (Brazilian) and "Sugar" (Brazilian), was not common among the white tribes. However, the superior merchandise is that the Indians use to be possible to obtain the best, even more so when the best is to be used.

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* 777 rather than the Indians—for the Indians must not starve by Cayul themselves
 439 through hunting. Cheap fish bones are used by a number of guests, probably
 648 a majority, and women make appropriate colored head cloths to use as kerchiefs.
 (262) Such "banquet" or semi-formal dress is worn, usually for men but occasionally for women, on occasions by those who are able to do so and are
 (177) principally brought forth for Indian occasions such as night dances. (Otherwise everybody goes barefoot nearly always.) By far the most indispensable of trade goods are the metal cooking tools for agriculture, without which the present economy of the Cayul could little more be maintained than that of the Indians.

Turning to the Cayul products which find a market with the whites of the region, we note that at the present time some Cayul actually sell or barter small amounts of their *total* production every year. Cass, principally the kind known to the Brazilians as *café de leite*, "hard milk" (Cayul: *café de leite*), is the item of largest sale. It is sometimes sold wholesale, relatively speaking, and not rarely in small quantities at a time. These occasionally enter into Cayul dealings with whites but not rarely as frequently as cash, are usually on such a scale. Wheat and wheat products, probably partly because they are not so easily stored in quantity, rarely are sold to whites except in small amounts for immediate consumption. These latter products do not go to the market usually but to local white families who buy them by and who may be occasionally short as a result of a poor harvest or bad planning in their own crops. (Cayul occasionally try to obtain similar products for the same reason from local sources.) A few Cayul now plant rice, which is not a native plant. Although there would not be sufficient rice for themselves, did they choose such, the product is sometimes traded to the Rio-Brazilians. In connection with rice, at least, a significant number of Cayul men, perhaps roughly half the total, occasionally (that is, not every year) plant with some intention of a marketable, marketable surplus destined to the Indians. The quantity is not large in most cases, however.

Brazilian agricultural products, only a few others enter occasionally into Cayul-Brazilian trade and barter. These are wild honey, infrequently a low-grade made of compressed meat, and women split bananas under circumstances, which are called in Portuguese *passada* ("slicing"). Wild honey is gathered by the Indians primarily for their own use. In parts of some regions, or when a party or other Brazilian particularly requires honey, the Indians may trade small quantities of their sale to local white sources. Honey is locally consumed or here possibly serves culinary purposes and is hence in demand by Brazilians. It is also a great delicacy to the Indians. The honeycombs, which are standard household favorites for the Cayul, are not normally consumed or used by local white sources, but once in a while one may be in demand for cooking purposes—such as we use them in the confectionery.²⁰ Bananas are

²⁰ Bananas have a certain and important value for a certain Brazilian—among the

continued

CAPITAL CURRENCY CHANGES

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not often made for sale, except upon specific order of some white. It is different with winning ways or *winchans*. All Brazilian households in the neighbor- 648
hood, as well as those of the Indians, guard their corn in wooden *winchans* 659
and require their ways to ask for corn from the owner which needs some 352
padding. There is usually a well understood line of price, according to the 617
size and workmanship of the way. Some Cayul men occasionally make them 262
to be offered for sale or barter either directly to the settler, or to the Indian
which may keep a small stock of ways on hand. This is a fairly desirable article
however, as the settler of this use does not necessarily supply a large volume of
products. Speculation in the manufacture of *winchans* has already been
mentioned.

Continued as a study January, the study of Cayul production is still 659
settled as to the Indian is both a much smaller and less regular volume of 648
commercial relations with the outside than the change. The Cayul is less one 653
of having both reliable merchandise and buyers for it than for it of having a 649
demand for his labor. His labor is consumed in larger quantities, usually, than 669
his products and hence ultimately provides him a larger part of the trade goods
he requires. Furthermore, not every individual Cayul can make the winning 669
ways, nor can they store all their merchandise, and none do not seem able
or interested in producing any surplus of agricultural products for barter.
Cayul production for barter or sale to most men could best be described as
only incidental or casual. All those who receive more income from trade in
Cayul products than from change are either Europeans or work very little in
change.

Extensive exchange of the Cayul of Tepic, both within the village and 637
externally, takes place under the headings of "good barter" and "money barter." 648
Good barter is the exchange of goods for goods without reference to a common 635
standard of value. Money barter, however, is the exchange of goods for goods
(and presumably also services for goods) in which there is a single standard, and
uniform measure of value, money. In their dealings with the two Brazilians 1000
in trade and change, the Cayul are now acquainted with an accepted money
value of many of the commodities as well as the services they exchange. A sale
of corn (dried long and) is worth as much as money, as also a good (roughly
a quarter of an abasco, the latter an area of 20,000 square meters) of the
finely dressed ground growth (cappas in Portuguese) is worth as many abascos;
a winning way of good merchandise and a green dye is worth as much, and so

other goods of various kinds besides, and the last, along with a number of others, is an 170
equivalent for the settler's - especially provisions of the United States of the south of Brazil,
and of Portugal. In the south of Brazil, the *winchans* is a very poor commodity for barter
as a regular store of things requires, and when barter is considered necessary
to ask especially in the case of food and the United States. Many kinds in the United
States are equivalent to the value of the goods in the United States, and a
way to ask for a value.

* June, 1943

- 648 forth. In each case, the "price" is what the Cayuá knows the settler will
 439 ordinarily pay for the goods or services in question. Rather seldom, however,
 425 are the services or goods paid for in actual money. In fact, the Cayuá has very
 little need for money; he almost always works for limited, specific goods for
 immediate needs, a certain amount of cloth (as much as he requires for himself
 or his family), a hoe, a kilo of salt, a bar of soap, or a number of these things at
 once. These are his needs for a given period, usually no more than a season or
 two at a time. He does not save money or keep trade goods far ahead of his
 need for them. But in a large number of dealings with the Neo-Brazilian,
 money is now the measure used to decide whether the Cayuá will be satisfied,
 for instance, with the number of meters of cloth the *patão* is offering for doing
 the specified amount of *cheaps* under discussion. The work is worth so much
 money; the cloth is worth so much money. Are they nearly equivalent?

There is nowadays much discussion of prices among the Cayuá themselves, how much a certain *patão* pays per unit area, and how much so-and-so sold his corn for, how much ordinary cloth is costing per meter, and other such prices. These prices must necessarily be discussed in terms of money (either Brazilian or Paraguayan), even though most Cayuá rarely obtain trade goods or sell their own goods for actual money. This price concept, related to a money standard, is largely a result of dealings with Neo-Brazilians, and the Cayuá application of the concept to goods and services, therefore, so far tends to be limited to negotiations on the outside. When Cayuá negotiations with Cayuá are for the same goods or services as occur in arrangements on the outside, the price concept may also, naturally, be applied. But when other goods or services are in question, which are not involved in outside dealings, it is less likely that the money standard will be applied among Cayuá, or it will be applied hesitatingly and with uncertainty on both sides. However, enough goods and services are now appraised in terms of money that other goods and services, not ordinarily thought of in this way, can also sometimes be priced and evaluated by comparison.

- 437 As Gras points out, the four types of exchange he distinguishes, gift economy, gift barter, pure barter, and money barter, are not mutually exclusive.¹²² We need not, therefore, be surprised to learn that the exchange of goods among Cayuá does not always conform to the money barter type. Cayuá examples of all the above types of exchange of goods and services could probably be cited (but will not be here since they do not seem related to acculturation). Summing up, then, the type of exchange termed by Gras "money barter," which certainly did not exist aboriginally, now marks most of the economic relations of Cayuá with Brazilian settlers and also marks some of the exchange of goods and services among the Cayuá themselves.

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CAYUÁ CULTURE CHANGE

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that the goal is not the same for all members of the work party.^{178*} The contemporary *pubirô* is no more cooperative, in our present sense, than the aboriginal one. Nor is there any regular work cooperation today on the basis of an extended family. Indeed, the *pubirô* largely serves now and is almost the only expression of obligations of relatives and others to assist each other in their regular work. But such collective work of kinsmen does not mean cooperation toward a mutual goal, such as a joint food supply; it means only helping some individual with his own, respective, private work. Thus the existence of the present *pubirô* is no counterbalance for the loss of extended family cooperation and the increase of elementary family individualism. 476

Commercialism can be stated as economic rationalism, a tendency to appraise factors of economic importance more in terms of conscious, measurable, tangible economic goods or appreciable economic advantage, and to appraise them less in terms of non-economic values. Present Cayuá tendencies toward commercialism can be seen in their economic relations with Neo-Brazilians, in trade, and in the *changa*. Here rather undiluted economic self-interest tends to prevail and the arbitrary concept of money value is being applied to more and more goods and services. These facts contrast with the aboriginal absence of a price concept and the tendency to evaluate goods and services in other terms than self interest. Commercialistic attitudes exist among the present Cayuá to the extent to which they weigh cost against gain and rationally assess in directly economic terms the advantage of different possible courses of action. The joint economic production of the extended family of old and the collective working arrangements of the *pubirô* are in some sense the opposite of commercialism. Each individual's contribution to this enterprise was not weighed and balanced in economic terms against the gain he privately derived from it. The reigning principle was one of kinship or friendship obligations; the satisfaction derived was measured by no standard economic unit of value. (This also applies in part to the present *pubirô*, of course.) Against the old values modern Cayuá arrangements in trading and wage work for whites stand out sharply. Commercialistic attitudes and dispositions to act have, moreover, penetrated farther than Cayuá dealings with whites. Two developments within Cayuá society, already mentioned, are evidence of the extent to which this has occurred. These are the development of pure and money barter among Cayuá within their own village and the internal *changa*. Internal trade is now taking place on a small but significant scale. "Significant" here has to be understood against the background of a very low degree of economic specialization in which there is relatively little cause for trade in the same village between one Cayuá and another. Commodities such as rice (which only a few Cayuá now plant), as well as chickens (which a larger number possess), are now traded, and trans- 178* 433 648 .

¹⁷⁸ Mead, 1937, pp. 16-17.

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*178 actions take place even in the more traditional products of the Cayuá. These
 438 products may now and then be in short supply for some families, perhaps
 464 toward the end of the season, just before planting and the coming of the new
 crop. There is little doubt that both "internal" changes and intra-village trade
 are extensions of practices which the Cayuá have come to know primarily from
 their economic relations with whites. Relations with Neo-Brazilians have been
 and are today strong forces in favor of the growth of economic rationalism or
 commercialism.

*178 Theoretically there may be no necessary relation between "individualism"
 433 and "commercialism." In the case of the Cayuá, however, it is justifiable to
 treat them together. Many of the same factors which historically reinforced
 Cayuá commercialism also favored Cayuá individualism. The two attitudes
 have had somewhat complementary roles, and the growing commercialism of
 Cayuá economic outlook apparently closely paralleled a growing self-interest
 in relations among members of the society. (A growing individualism, however,
 might theoretically have developed without a necessary growth of commercial-
 [594] ism.) First is the basic production-consumption unit now made up of only the
 individual Cayuá male, his spouse, and his unmarried children—the ele-
 mentary family. The separate economic role of the elementary family could
 only come into being at the expense of certain former cooperative or collective
 [476] sentiments and usages. There has been an increase in the attitude of primary
 self-interest, a partial divorce of purely economic considerations from aspects
 of helpfulness, jointness, and reciprocity, such as in the joint work party, and
 a decrease in cooperative activity, such as expressed in the former extended
 family. It is coming to be considered not only canny but proper for a Cayuá
 to sell to his fellows goods or services they may need, that is, to discuss with
 them in advance the terms of the exchange. Jointness or communalism of feel-
 ing, as cultural values, are thus lessened in favor of commercialism and indi-
 [736] vidualism. A Cayuá may now sometimes offer a friend so much in return for a
 specified amount of work, and a man may make this sort of offer even to a
 widowed sister who lives with him. Former attitudes toward cooperation and
 helpfulness along kin (and hence non-rational) lines have therefore diminished
 in deference to an appreciation of the objective economic expression (com-
 mercialism) of purely individual interests. New economic attitudes and usages,
 especially trade and wage work, coupled with a reduction of the size of the
 basic production-consumption unit to the monogamous elementary family, are
 the Cayuá ingredients of commercialism and individualism alike.

Increasing competition among the Cayuá is not necessarily implied in the
 present argument—that is, the goal of exceeding one's fellows for the pleasure
 this in itself may bring. A decrease in cooperation and the growth of indi-
 vidualism and commercialism, to be sure, are not antithetical to competition.
 But, at the same time, commercialism and individualism are not tantamount

to the development of increasingly competitive goals. A diachronic investigation of the question of competition in Cayuá acculturation would demand much more information than we have concerning the past, or more inferences than we have any right to make. The impression is that competition in Cayuá culture is little more marked as a goal now than aboriginally.¹⁷⁷ In any case, Cayuá culture is not notably competitive at the present time, in the opinion of the writer, although cooperation has lessened and individualism increased, both as means and as goal, and although commercialism has introduced the means and the practice of objectively measuring individual economic advantage.

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A CHANGE IN THE POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

The modern Cayuá have gradually shifted from aboriginal household chiefs to a single, secular officer, the *capitão*, and his adjutant, the *sargento*. The terms *capitão* and *sargento*, are today in current usage in all the Cayuá villages of which the writer has any report, and the offices do not seem very new. At least in those villages within easy range of SPI posts, the *capitão*, and usually the *sargento* as well, are not necessarily persons indicated by kinship or seniority, or selected by their own people for these offices. Rather they are individuals who are judged suitable by the *encarregado* who has jurisdiction over the village. Often the *encarregado* will attempt to name men preferred by, or at least acceptable to, the largest number of Indians, but this does not always follow. Occasionally a man is selected merely because he will do the bidding of the *encarregado*—or of the local settlers, in the case of a village too far away from the post to be immediately answerable to the *encarregado*. (It is even more certain, conversely, that the *encarregado* will reject any individual he suspects of hostility.) The present mode of selection often provides a man who finds no favor in the eyes of the majority of the people. One such fellow was *capitão* when we first arrived at Taquapiri and continued in office for a short time afterwards. He was a ruffian, said to have murdered a former wife of his (for witchcraft), and was not a native of Taquapiri, nor was his present wife even a Cayuá but a "Guarani." His tenure dissolved in a drunken fracas in which bruises and cuts were sustained by himself and members of both principal factions, the incumbent's and that of most of the rest of the village.¹⁷⁸

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With the dissolution of the extended family, much of the opportunity of the former household chiefs directly to exercise power withered away. The

¹⁷⁷ A theoretical case might even be argued for the contrary, that competition as a goal is less now than aboriginally. It could be pointed out, e. g., that warfare, which was probably quite important, no longer exists, and this activity may well have been a somewhat competitive one.

¹⁷⁸ The neighboring settlers were much concerned about the demission of this *capitão* from office since he had "cooperated" well with them, principally in the matter of obtaining Indian poems for songs when they were desired.

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A consolidating factor, (I. g.) the development of an external market for small quantities of agricultural produce, is probably the most recent step to date in the increasing scale of agriculture. Even without trade, agriculture would likely have come to be practiced on nearly as large a scale as at the present time. Being able to trade small amounts of their corn and beans, and a few other crops, to the whites for white goods has merely further established the feasibility of agriculture as an adjustment to the new conditions the Cayuá face. Certain aspects of their culture other than farming may conceivably diminish through the gradual inculcation of Neo-Brazilian values in coming generations of Cayuá. Agriculture, however, at least as long as the present situation prevails, will be favored and enhanced by the very factors of acculturation.

Three other factors have aided the growth of Cayuá agriculture to a lesser degree, or indirectly. The decrease in game animals in the Cayuá region (I. d.) has had the effect of making agriculture as a source of daily bread somewhat more important through the consequent decline of hunting. The introduction of trade goods and of trading posts (I. e.) has tended further to establish the importance of agriculture. The Cayuá now know and desire trade goods, and one means of satisfying the desire is through trading agricultural produce for these goods. The development of an external market for Cayuá (male) labor, (I. g.), has perhaps also had some effect in solidifying Cayuá agriculture (though in some respects it has competed with agriculture). The type of work for which Neo-Brazilians employ Cayuá men in *changs* is usually agricultural. Moreover, it is specifically the same type of agriculture as that practiced by the Cayuá themselves. As far as operations, at least, are concerned, wage-work provides little or no alternative or change from own production and may have the reinforcing effect suggested.

II. A. b. "Hunting and gathering activities decrease in importance in the total economy." One acculturational cause of the decline of hunting and gathering activities has been (I. c.), the gradual and increasing territorial restriction of the Cayuá and their ultimate settlement on small reservations. Possibly this restriction was not drastic for settlement, as the Cayuá aboriginally were somewhat sedentary and built fairly substantial shelters that must have tended to confine their range. But nowadays, with legally defined possession of lands, it is not so easy as formerly to traverse the countryside for hunting and gathering without trespassing on the property of white settlers who object. The Cayuá reservations, furthermore—or at least those of some groups—are not near principal watercourses where there is access to canoe travel. Hence the people can no longer participate in such hunting and fishing activity as former mobility with the canoe presumably permitted.

The second main cause of decrease in hunting and fishing is (I. d.), the reduction of the aboriginal supply of game animals. This has occurred because of

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*177 the presence of many more people in the region, principally whites, who have
 182 more efficient hunting techniques. The whites also graze considerable numbers
 • 648 of cattle. Inevitably the ecological balance has shifted to the disfavor of the
 22 wild animals. Hunting has become less possible because there is less to hunt.
 Precisely what the presence of domesticated grazing animals in large numbers
 may have meant to the prospects of plant gathering, on the other hand, is not
 quite certain. In a region like the intermontane area of North America gather-
 ing, rather than hunting, was of primary importance, and the wild plants
 gathered were such as to be accessible and edible to grazing animals. The out-
 come of the introduction of livestock in that instance was both predictable and
 serious for the aborigines. But many of the wild plants gathered by the Cayuá
 are tree-growing fruits; many lower growing varieties are plants of the forest
 where cattle are not so apt to graze. It may consequently be doubted that
 cattle have had a great deal to do with any decrease in plant gathering activi-
 ties of the Cayuá.¹²⁶

*177 Broadly and indirectly significant in the declining importance of hunting
 182 and fishing (and gathering?) has been the increase in scale of agriculture, (II.
 241 A. a.). These two large changes apparently stand in a fairly close inverse re-
 22 lationship to each other. As hunting and fishing decreased, agriculture in-
 creased, and to a certain extent one result can therefore be said to have been
 a cause of the other, though of course we are dealing here with no "closed"
 causal system. Had there been no feasible alternative to the dependence upon
 hunting and fishing, such as agriculture, it may be doubted that they would
 as readily have given way before acculturational forces operating against
 them—or the present economic situation of the Cayuá might not have been
 such a relatively well adjusted one. In this sense, then, factors ultimately
 favorable to agriculture have indirectly contributed to the deterioration of
 non-agricultural food technologies; and conversely, factors unfavorable to
 hunting, fishing, and possibly gathering, have indirectly contributed to the
 modern importance of agriculture to the Cayuá.¹²⁷

*177 II. A. c. "Greater present technological efficiency and productivity of the
 182 individual worker in agriculture. It is possible not only for more agricultural
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¹²⁶ The cattle, and in a few cases swine, present something of a problem to the Cayuá agri-
 cultur, however. Those living near open country where cattle graze must make the trails to their
 fields obscure and difficult and must build gates or other barricades. Otherwise the cattle may
 invade the plantations and cause large scale depredations, as certain wild animals always have
 done. The latter, however, may be trapped and killed whereas the cattle of the Neo-Brazilians
 may not.

[411] ¹²⁷ An instance in which this has not been wholly true, however, is that of the introduction of
 metal implements. The machete has developed into one of the most commonly employed hunting
 weapons for certain small game such as armadillos, substituting for the club, reported by some
 authorities as in use by the aboriginal Cayuá. At the same time, of course, the machete has
 been a notable factor in enhancing larger scale agriculture.

*177 be exchanged for trade goods has tended to cause a larger part of male working
182 time to be spent in agriculture. On the whole, this must imply less emphasis on
439 craft production. In addition, of course, the greater accessibility of trade goods
through this means, as already mentioned, favors a lesser dependence upon
Cayua craft production.

*177 But certain Cayua craft articles themselves command a price on the part of
182 the whites, and this has obviously tended to favor the corresponding skills.
439 Very few Cayua craft items are of interest to whites, actually, but strainers or
winnowers and occasional hammocks, for example, are in some demand. Items
285 traded to the whites are naturally those for which no suitable trade goods sub-
stitutes exist. The overall influence, however, of (I. g.) a small Neo-Brazilian
286 market for Cayua products has been to cut down craft production in some lines
while it has favored craft production in the few items sometimes traded to
whites. The net result is a decrease in the number of crafts—unless (as does
not appear likely) new crafts, not known aboriginally, have been added to the
Cayua repertory. This concentrates remaining production in a smaller number
of crafts.

*177 II. A. c. "Labor relations with Neo-Brazilian settlers are established
182 (*changa*), entailing dealings for white goods or for money, or in terms of it.
464 (Incidentally, this is the most intensive and intimate present point of contact
between the Cayua and whites.)" The acculturational causes of the *changa*
• 648 are primarily two: the introduction of white trade goods which the Cayua
439 learned to know and desire (I. e.), and (I. f.) the development of a market
among the Neo-Brazilians for Cayua male labor. In other words, the reasons
for the development of the *changa* are that the whites had goods the Cayua
wanted, and labor was at the beginning about the only thing that the Cayua
could offer in return. The whites could use Cayua labor in their agricultural
production or forest extractive industries and came to desire and later even to
demand a certain amount of work from the aborigines.

There is now some conflict with the *changa* in (I. g.) the existence of an
external market for certain Cayua agricultural and craft products. This market
provides a possible alternative to wage work as a means for Cayua to obtain
white trade goods. Several Cayua men have thus increased their plantings so
as to be sure of a small crop surplus to exchange for trade goods. These indi-
viduals, as might be expected, include ones who rarely or never work in
changa. Historically, however, the *changa* was probably developed and fairly
well established before there was much question of a competing alternative
method of obtaining trade goods. In other words, there was a regular white
market for Cayua services before any consistent white demand existed for
Cayua goods. This time relationship between conflicting acculturational fac-
tors naturally throws some light on the development of the *changa*.

The *changa* incidentally has tended to aid other trends in which white trade

goods and metal tools are significant, since it has been the commonest way for Cayuá to obtain trade goods. The following are instances: increased agricultural production (i.e. in providing metal tools) (II. A. a.), (II. A. d.) the decrease or loss of certain Cayuá crafts (i.e. in providing trade goods substitutes), and (II. A. f.) trade relations with Neo-Brasilians (since the *chango* involves dealings with whites for goods and sometimes for money). The *chango* also occupies a certain amount of work time and in this sense has tended to conflict somewhat with (II. A. a.) the development of agriculture. In the same way it is a factor in the decline of such activities as hunting and fishing (II. A. b.). But the *chango* has tended to reinforce the Cayuá in their own agriculture, on the other hand, in the sense that it usually involves the same type of (agricultural) work. It has not, therefore, necessitated habituation to a different set of skills which might conflict with agriculture. Moreover, habituation to agricultural operations may have been of considerable account in the past when the Cayuá man, we are led to believe, was not the farmer he is today.

II. A. f. "Trade relations with Neo-Brasilians are established and increase. These involve both (1) buying white trade goods, and (2) selling small amounts of certain Cayuá products." Several acculturational causes have favored the establishment of trade relations with Neo-Brasilians. Among the most important are the introduction of trade goods (I. b. and I. e.) which the Cayuá came to require, and (I. f.) the growth of a market for certain Cayuá goods, including a few craft products. The development of *chango* wage-work (II. A. e.) has fostered trade relations with Neo-Brasilians, and *chango* is now an important factor in the flow of goods and services. The development of aboriginal agriculture to a point where an occasional tradable surplus now exists (II. A. a.) has made possible the inclusion of certain agricultural produce in the limited two-way commerce between Cayuá and Neo-Brasilians.

SECONDARY EFFECTS OF ACCULTURATION

Having discussed II. A., primary or immediate effects of acculturation, we may turn to II. B., secondary or derived effects of acculturation. "Secondary Effects" are distinguished from "Primary Effects" as being on the whole less immediate in time to the conditions of white advent and less immediate in causal relation to these conditions. "Secondary Effects" are related through "Primary Effects" to the factors we have been treating as "Causes of Acculturation." "Primary Effects," therefore, are primary in the causal sense of the configuration under study, and "Secondary Effects" are in the same sense causally secondary or derived.

An example may suffice. The first "Secondary Effect" discussed below is (II. B. b.) "Individual economic differentiation." This effect is expressed both in the growing specialization of individuals in crafts and also in the increasingly clear alternatives for men of earning a living either in wage-work or, tradi-

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*177 the male duties of cutting, burning, and clearing *lekwé* for planting, along
 182 extended family lines, or perhaps with inter-family helpfulness as well. As has
 241 been suggested, these usages would tend to be carried over into new male
 462 activities. However, as a theory it is conceivable that aboriginal male labor
 476 was characteristically rather individual—more so perhaps than the agricul-
 tural activity of women. Hunting, for example, especially since no drive is in-
 dicated aboriginally, and certain types of fishing may well have been primarily
 individual occupations. If so, here is a factor of tradition favoring individual
 work as men became more important in agriculture.

*177 Two acculturational factors seem definitely to have made for individual
 182 male labor, (II. A. e.) the *chango* and (II. A. f.) trade relations with Brazilians.
 462 (Practically only men of the Cayuá engage in *chango* and trade.) Neither of
 464 these activities is easily amenable to jointness or cooperativeness. In *chango* a
 476 man usually works alone for his Neo-Brazilian *patrão*. Joint wage work of
 Cayuá is unusual, never involving more than two or three, and even here pay-
 • 648 ment is individual; the *chango* is by definition antithetical to cooperation. Thus
 the Cayuá is accustomed, while working for settlers, to performing (agricul-
 tural) work alone. In *chango*, even cutting, firing, and clearing are done individ-
 ually, though these activities among the Cayuá possibly had joint or cooper-
 ative aspects in aboriginal times. In other words, as the *chango* has become
 more important to the Cayuá, an increasing amount of their agricultural work
 has taken on a purely individual character. It seems reasonable that this has
 favorably influenced the singlehanded performance of work in agriculture
 among the Cayuá themselves.

*177 The Cayuá distribution and use of the white goods obtained in trade and
 182 *chango* is also an influence for individual work. The distribution of any goods
 43 is related to the question of who does the work of producing them. Hence, if it
 464 changes, distribution may be expected to have some influence for change upon
 476 the division of labor, and vice versa. In aboriginal times, everything leads us
 to believe, much of production such as agriculture, fishing, and perhaps other
 types, was on a joint basis within extended family households. Joint distribu-
 tion at that time was consistent with the prevailing joint production. The
 aboriginal products of joint labor were largely food, and food can be readily
 divided and apportioned jointly. Food was thus consumed by the same people
 who produced it, as is the case in general in relatively undifferentiated, simple
 economies where there is no class stratification of society.

Trade goods, however, present a problem of distribution quite different
 from that of jointly produced food. The bulk of trade goods, like their ab-
 original equivalents, pots, articles of clothing, implements, and so forth, are
 matters of individual concern. These items could not easily, like food, be dis-
 tributed and consumed jointly, and this was probably as true aboriginally as
 it is with modern trade goods. Yet to the extent that the Cayuá barter for trade
 goods, it is largely food (agricultural produce) which they give to the whites

elementary family unit, any such consolidating function of marriage tended to disappear. The avuncular marriage assumes a continuity of family through generations, a continuity not characteristic of the present elementary family. It involves the marriage of a son to a daughter's daughter. A given son at the present time, however will ultimately establish a household of his own. No marriage of his could, in the aboriginal sense, therefore, bring into the (extended) family a female, whether to replace that "lost" to them through the marriage of his sister, or for any other reason. Aboriginally the son in question often did not wait to contract his (first) marriage until a daughter of one of his sisters had been born and come of age; ordinarily he already had established a family of his own long before the time a sister's daughter was old enough to marry. Nowadays this would mean the previous establishment of a separate household. A marriage to the sister's daughter at present could not thus return that female to the same household which the sister had left in marrying. In other words, in the absence of the continuity of residence and lineage over succeeding generations, inherent in the extended family, the "return" or replacement of females to the same household from which their mothers had come could not operate in the same way.

This suggests another modern inconsistency with the avuncular marriage, (II. B. d.) the prevalent monogamy of the present day. With aboriginal polygyny (the frequency of which we do not know), marriage with the sister's daughter was not as difficult as now. With the possibility of more than one wife, the mother's brother need not wait, as we have said before, for a daughter to be born to his sister and to come of age. He might already have married at least one wife in the meantime.¹⁷⁸ Only later, therefore, did he come to consider marriage with his sister's daughter, when the latter was old enough. Polygyny, far from being a disadvantage, was then somewhat of an advantage because of the economic productivity of the female. Nowadays, if he married first and later also married his niece, the resulting economic burden of more than one wife would usually be too great.

II. B. h. "Political structure: greater centralization of power in community and establishment of factions; replacement of aboriginal (extended family) household heads and former decentralized control." In the changed political structure of the modern Cayuá, two factors have been particularly effective. They are (I. c.) the establishment of the Cayuá on *reservas* administered by the SPI, and (I. h.) white political influence for centralization stemming from the tendency of Europeans to insist upon "talking to the head man." Very likely the white assumption of a "leader," a general trait of Europeans, resulted in the institution of the *capitão* long before the SPI appeared on the scene. The case of the Cayuá is far from being exceptional in this respect.

¹⁷⁸ Kirchhoff, 1931, pp. 204 ff.

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*177 Jesuit writings and, indeed, some of the earliest chronicles we have create the
 182 impression of a central political figure of some prominence among the indi-
 622 genes. The prominence of this political officer, whom the whites usually called
 • 648 *capitán* or *cacique*, may well have been limited at first largely to dealings with
 Europeans—at least among Tupi-Guarani peoples.¹⁷⁹ It was naturally more
 convenient for the whites to deal directly with a single individual in authority.
 As contacts with whites began to bulk larger in the lives of the Indians, cen-
 tralization of authority in external relations probably became stronger and
 more important—even extending to internal matters of the indigenous group.

[657] The SPI came into being very late in the process, 1910. Apparently they
 largely took over pre-existing white political usages concerning relations with
 the Cayuá. At any rate, the nomination (or at least approval) of a *capitán* and
 his adjutant *sargento* (both of these terms occur in the earlier literature), seems
 now to be a standard practice of the SPI as far as the Cayuá are concerned.

*177 It is not clear just what was the political influence of the fact (I. a.) that
 182 the Cayuá were increasingly and finally guaranteed freedom from fear of hos-
 622 tile attack. There is little doubt that the political officer(s) of the aboriginal
 721 Cayuá must have been concerned at least somewhat with war. The lessened
 importance of war activity may, in theory, have produced a tendency toward
 a less centralized and weaker political authority. But any such tendency was
 offset in another direction by the necessity of dealing with the whites, and ulti-
 mately with the SPI. What resulted, therefore, was not really a question of a
 less or more centralized polity than aboriginally but a polity in which authority
 came to be of a different quality. Political authority came to be exercised less
 and less in matters of war, and finally not at all—as at present. The new
 political province included relations with whites and, in general, concerned the
 disposition to be made of questions of external relations. Such a change in
 administrative function presumably made the political office(s) quite dif-
 ferent from the aboriginal prototypes and may also have resulted in a different
 quality of personnel. (Differences of degree of individual acculturation along
 age-grade lines might, for example, bring young men to the fore, if they could
 speak the European tongue, in order to better treat with the whites.)

*177 The suggestion is occasionally encountered in the literature that shamans
 182 (*pa's*) were sometimes men of considerable civil authority. Assuming that
 756 immediate direction of war activities was not aboriginally within the province
 622 of the shaman, the lessening importance of war activities might leave shamans
 more than ever in control of the field of political operations. At the same time,
 as we have suggested, the field of political operations probably became more
 important and its administration more centralized. All of this, of course, is
 well within the realm of speculation, but it does seem attractive as a possibil-

¹⁷⁹ *Viz. Kirchhoff, 1931, pp. 216 et passim. "Nowhere (in non-Andean South America) do real tribal chieftains appear to exist; in war, allied settlements choose a war chieftain."*

175 /31 cont./
 797 second half of the /32/ following century, when they were expelled,
 361 the Jesuits left 32 reductions, with a population of about 100,000
 162 Indians (2).

[113] 2. Martin Dobrizhoffer, Geschichte der Abiponer
 /History of the Abipon/, Vol. 3, pp. 504-506.
 Vienna, 1783-84.

175 In 1855 the government of Paraná made an attempt to establish
 361 beside the ruins of the former Jesuit reduction of Loreto de Pirapó
 • 648 (near where the Pirapó empties into the Paranapanema) a settle-
 657 ment of Cayuá Indians, later transferred a little higher, with atten-
 tion paid to the conditions of salubrity. The results of the under-
 taking were not as good as had at first been expected. In times
 gone by the Cayuás have ordinarily preferred to live isolated from
 other groups, whether of Indians or of whites.

177 In 1908 von Koenigswald writes that the idiom of the Cayuá
 197 constituted at the time a dialect of the old Guaraní, completely
 lacking the invocations introduced into the language by the
 Jesuits (3).

[113] 3. Gustav von Koenigswald, "Os Cayuás /The
 Cayua/." Separate from Vol. XCIII, No. 24,
 of Globo. Distributed on June 25, 1908.
 Translation of F. W. Sommer. Page 3.

177 The group of the Cayuá studied by the author is nowadays fully
 197 acquainted with the modified type of the Guaraní idiom: they
 178 have perhaps learned it in the last 40 or 50 years, a period in
 which they have had more and more intense contact with the white
 population. Among the older individuals there are a few who only
 speak the older type of idiom, the "pure" Cayuá, and although
 many of the younger ones use the modified form in the major part
 of their conversation, they nevertheless know the older type, being
 [361] able to point out the differences. A small number of Indians,

/32 cont./

177 made up of those who have spent a large part of their lives out-
178 side of the Indian aldeias, having lived in closer contact with the
197 whites, speak and know only the modified type of the language,
361 admitting that they have difficulty at times in understanding the
speech of some of the older ones. I found very few of these cases.

361 Taquapirí, the aldeia under consideration in this article, is
[101] located in the Federal Territory of Ponta Porã, between the
[161] Brazilian settlements of Unifó and Nhu Verá, about two leagues
[628] from the Paraguayan border. At present about 175 individuals are
counted in the aldeia, many of them relatives and friends of other
Cayua of the various groups of these Indians in the region, such
as the Posto Indígena "Benjamin Constant," Mangai, Iguassuti,
Ipeum, and Pirajui. The Cayua nowadays devote themselves
433 intensively to agriculture, making large clearings, and devoting
little time to hunting or fishing. Von Koenigswald states that at
the beginning of the twentieth century, the period in which he
traveled through the /33/ region, the same was not true. "Every
Indian village maintains a small clearing with maize, mandioca,
gourd, sweet potato..." (4).

4. Ibid., p. 7.

178 About 40 or 50 years ago, more or less, the restrictions with which
131 the whites reduced the area of land that the Indians can use were
423 becoming more accentuated. Today the Indians of Taquapirí
are limited to a territory which is not watered by rivers that con-
tain a large amount of fish and which does not have forests with
648 plentiful game either. This progressive diminution of the Indians'
[175] territory remains alive in the memory of part of the older men of
the group. The introduction of the machete to this group, an
174 event that took place at least in a period much earlier than the
177 reduction of the Indians' territory on the part of the whites and
412 which was going to facilitate the opening of the clearings in the
forest, constituted another important factor of the change observed
313 in the economy of the Cayua /The index number for footnote 5

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175 western side, the *Guaraní* occupied all the land from Yapeyú to the Paraná River (Serrano, 1936, p. 121). From the junction of the Paraná and Paraguay Rivers, *Guaraní* villages were distributed continuously up the eastern side of the Paraguay River and up both sides of the Paraná River. They reached north to the Mbotetey (Miranda) River (lat. 20° S.), and east probably to the Serras de Amambay and Maracayú. The *Guaraní* were especially numerous in the Paraná Basin and in the Province of Guairá. There were also countless settlements along the tributaries of the Paraná River, the boundary between the *Tupinakin* and *Guaraní* being approximately the Tieté River. The *Guaraní* extended south to the Province of Tapé (today, Serra Geral).

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175 Although *Guaraní* was the generic name of this widespread people, the Spaniards in the 16th and 17th centuries distinguished local tribes by special names. Around Lagoa dos Patos, the *Guaraní* were called *Arechane* (lat. 32° S., long. 51° W.); from the Apa River to the Mbotetey (Miranda) River, *Itatin* (lat. 22° S., long. 57° W.); in the Serra Geral and Rio Grande do Sul, *Tapé* (lat. 30° S., long. 52° W.); around San Estanislao and San Joaquín, *Tobatin*; on the Ypané River, *Guarambaté* (lat. 23° S., long. 56° W.); and on the Ivahy (Ivahyete) River, *Taioba*. Tribes with a different language and culture, such as the *Coingang*, or with a different culture, such as the *Guayakí*, were scattered among the *Guaraní*.

•[648] In the second half of the 17th century, the *Northern Guaraní* or *Itatin*, were driven south by the *Mbayá-Guaicurú*, a Chaco tribe.

101 Modern *Guaraní* tribes.—Since the 18th century, the *Guaraní* groups who had remained independent and had not been collected in missions have been distinguished from the Christianized *Guaraní* by the name *Caingú* (*Kaa-thua*, *Kaingua*, *Cayú*, *Monteses*), which means "Inhabitants of the Forest."

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175 About 1800, the *Caingú* (*Caagua*) inhabited the headwaters of the Iguatemi River, extending north toward the upper Miranda River to Cerro Pyta in the Cordillera de San José near the headwaters of the Ypané River. They also lived near the Jejui-guarú (Jejui) and the Aguaray-guazú Rivers and in the vicinity of the cities of Curuguaty, San Joaquín, and San Estanislao (Azara, 1904, p. 407).

The *Caingú* proper lived on the Ypané River, the *Carima* in the Serra Maracayú (lat. 23° S., long. 54° W.), and the *Taruma* east of the Yhú River (lat. 24° S., long. 56° W.).

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175 The Indians who at the end of the 18th century lived on the right side of the Paraná River between the Guarapay and Monday Rivers and on the left side of the Paraná River from Corpus to the Iguassú River, were known as *Guayana* (lat. 26° S., long. 56° W.). A group of these *Guayana* still exists at Villa Azara on the stream Pirá-pyta. These *Guaraní*-speaking *Guayana* should not be confused with the ancient

dogs, that is to say, supports for pots, a hypothesis completely unconfirmed. No object of that type has been found in any other *Guaraní* region.

A fragment of a double vessel found at Arroyo Malo suggests a type of bowl used by the *Chiriguano*, though these modern vessels are obviously copied after European yerba maté containers. An effigy vessel collected at Arroyo Malo is definitely alien to *Guaraní* culture as known through archeology.

Crude stone drills, knives, hammers, and arrow-shaft polishers are listed by Mayntzhusen (1912, p. 463) among the stone objects he picked up from refuse heaps on the upper Paraná River. He also mentions quartz lip plugs. Simple neolithic stone axes without any groove have been found in *Guaraní* sites of the upper Paraná River, on the island of Martín García, and at Arroyo Malo. Lothrop (1932, p. 145) describes two fragmentary bolas from Arroyo Malo. One is well made with a broad groove; the other is roughly shaped with a narrow groove. Outes (1917, fig. 28) figures also a grooved bola obtained at Martín García. The bola was not a *Guaraní* weapon and its use seems to have been limited to the *Guaraní* of the Delta.

Hammerstones, roughly shaped by abrasion and including some pitted ones, have come to light in the excavations of Arroyo Malo.

The bone artifacts which Mayntzhusen claims to have collected on ancient sites of the Paraná River include needles, weaver daggers, spatulae, fishhooks, and flutes. He also discovered perforated shell disks and some human or animal teeth which were parts of a necklace.

THE CONQUEST

No mineral wealth has ever been exploited in Paraguay, but metal objects found among the aborigenes of this country in the 16th century brought about the conquest of the entire basin of the Río de la Plata. The gold and silver, which members of the Solís expedition obtained from the *Guaraní* and other Indians of this region, had come originally from the *Inca* Empire. At the end of the 15th century, probably under the reign of Inca Yupanqui, bands of *Guaraní* had crossed the Chaco to raid the peaceful *Chané* along the *Inca* frontier and even attacked tribes directly under *Inca* rule. Some of these *Guaraní* bands settled in the conquered territories; others returned loaded with loot. Groups, small and large, followed the first invaders and renewed their assaults against the "people of the metal." The number of metal objects which reached Paraguay and the Río de la Plata in this manner must have been considerable for, from the beginning of the Conquest, regions which actually had nothing to entice the Spaniards were the object of their most violent covetousness. These regions became the gateway to El Dorado.

The first positive information on the "Sierra de la Plata" or "Tierra

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rica" was obtained by Alejo García, who, with a few other white men, joined a Guaraní raid against the Inca border. He wrote of his discovery to his companions who had remained in Santa Catarina. When Sebastian Cabot landed at Pernambuco in 1526, he had been told of gold and silver in the region of the Rio de la Plata. Later, in Santa Catarina he obtained more detailed information from Alejo García's companions and heard that "near the sierra there was a white king, dressed like a Spaniard," and that García and his companions had seen mines and had spoken with the Indians who lived near the sierra and "wore silver crowns on their heads and gold plates hanging from their necks and ears and attached around their belts." With his letter, García had sent specimens of the metal. Convinced that they had reached El Dorado, Sebastian Cabot abandoned his intended journey to the East Indies and decided to ascend the Rio de la Plata, where he was assured he could "load a ship with gold and silver." Cabot sailed the Paraná and then the Paraguay River to its junction with the Pilcomayo River. Ramírez, in his famous letter recounting the Cabot expedition, says that, "the Guaraní Indians of the region of Santa Ana wear many ear pendants and pendants of gold and silver," and that a brigantine's crew saw the same things somewhat upstream. Through an interpreter, the Spaniards learned that the *Chandule*, who were Indians of the same tribe living 180 miles (60 leagues) up the Paraguay River, "traded gold to the Guaraní for beads and canoes." The *Chandule*, who were probably the Guaraní of the region of Itati, had much metal, "according to the Indians, because women and children went from their settlements to the mountain and brought back the aforesaid metal" (Ramírez in Medina, J. T., 1908, p. 456).

The Cabot expedition was a failure, but the reports about the Sierra de la Plata, the *Caracara* Indians (i.e., the *Quechua* Indians of Charcas), and the silver and gold of the Guaraní were avidly received by the Spaniards and led to the expedition of Adelantado Pedro de Mendoza. In 1536, Mendoza sent Juan de Ayolas up the Paraguay River to find a route to the land of the *Caracara*. Ayolas ascended the Paraguay River to the Port of Candelaria, at lat. 19° S., whence, led by a former slave of García, he crossed the Chaco through the land of the *Mbayá*, and reached the *Caracara*. Like Alejo García, he returned "with 20 loads of gold and silver," but, on reaching the Paraguay River, he and his companions were massacred by the *Payagua* Indians (1538). A year earlier, Juan de Salazar de Espinosa had founded the city of Asunción. The *Cario* (Guaraní), who understood the aim of the Spaniards and who hoped to make them allies in their raids, were extremely friendly to the Spaniards, and provided them with food and women. Henceforth, the Guaraní served as auxiliaries and porters in all Spanish expeditions, whether to the Chaco or to the Andes. When Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca fought the *Mbayá-Guaicurú* in 1542, he was assisted by 10,000

Guaraní, who gathered at Tapuá. Two thousand Guaraní accompanied Domingo de Irala in 1548 and even more followed Núñez de Chaves in 1558.

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The Guaraní later resisted the ruthless exploitation of which they were victims (for example, the revolts of Taharé and Guaranbaré), but they lacked the determination and unity shown by other tribes so that their revolts were easily crushed. Later Guaraní rebellions were often led by native messiahs, the most famous of whom was Obera (end of the 16th century), who promised the Indians supernatural support and convinced them that the happiness of native times would be restored after the final expulsion of the White men.

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From the outset, the conquistadors, like the European colonists on the coast of Brazil, were strongly attracted by the beauty of the Guaraní women—who readily yielded to their solicitations—and took native wives or mistresses. As some of these were daughters and sisters of local chiefs, the alliances proved useful to the Spaniards, for the Indians felt obliged to support and serve their new relatives. The Spaniards lived scattered in small ranches around Asunción, surrounded by *harems* (some with 20 to 30 women), and by their wives' relatives.

The young colony came to consist of a rapidly growing Mestizo population, without which it would have been abandoned soon after the Conquest of Perú. The system of *encomiendas*, introduced in the middle of the 16th century, had the usual dire effects on the native population. Forced to work for their masters and often ill-treated, the Indians died by the thousands. At the end of the 16th century, there remained within a radius of 21 miles (7 leagues) around Asunción, only 3,000 Indians. The region of Tapuá, north of Asunción, which had been covered with ranches, was practically abandoned. The disappearance of the natives, however, was compensated by the constant increase of the Mestizos, or "*mancebos de la tierra*," whose lawlessness is often stressed by Spanish chroniclers. These descendants of early Spaniards and Guaraní form the main element in the million or so people of modern Paraguay, so that their language is still spoken in rural Paraguay, in the Argentine territory of Misiones, and in the State of Corrientes. Even in cities, such as Asunción, part of the population still uses the language of their Guaraní ancestors.

The missions.—Unlike the Guaraní under the Spanish *encomiendas*, that portion of the tribe which occupied the upper Paraná River and the Uruguay River basin was subject to Jesuit missions for about two centuries (1608-1767). Their post-Conquest history, therefore, is identical with that of the *missiones*. The first Jesuits (Juan Solano, Manuel de Ortega, and Tomas Filds) arrived in Asunción in 1588. Two of these fathers went to the region of El Guairá, a territory defined on the west by the Paraná River, on the north by the Tieté River, on the south by the Iguazú

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175 River, and in the east by a vague line drawn by the treaty of Tordesillas.
 •648 Here, the Spaniards had founded two cities, *Chelod real del Guairá* (1534)
 797 and Villaria. The two Jesuits visited numerous Indian villages, baptizing
 children and moribonds, but they did not establish any permanent mission.
 In 1600, the King of Spain, at the request of *Hernandarias de Saavedra*,
 Governor of Paraguay, granted the Jesuits permission to conquer the
 150,000 Guaraní Indians of El Guairá, by "means of doctrines and by the
 preaching of the Gospel."

The first Jesuit mission in Paraguay was San Ignacio Guairá, founded
 north of the Paraná River, but the first establishments of El Guairá
 (*Nuestra Señora de Loreto* and San Ignacio-miri on the Pirapo River),
 which were to become so prosperous, were created in 1610 by Fathers José
 Cataldino and Simón Macretá. The apostle of the Guairá was the famous
 Antonio Ruiz de Montoya, founder of 11 missions between 1622 and 1629
 and author of the great classic of Guaraní language, the *"Arte, vocabulario,
 tesoro de la lengua Guaraní"* (1876). In another book, *"Conquista
 espiritual . . . del Paraguay"* (1892), he reports his adventures and
 successes and the ruin of the missions. In 1630, the flourishing missions of
 El Guairá were destroyed by the raids of slave hunters from São Paulo,
 the dreaded *mamelucos*, who attacked the missions and captured all whom
 they did not slaughter. In a few years, they are said to have killed or
 enslaved 300,000 Guaraní Indians. From 1628 to 1630 they took 60,000
 Indians from the Jesuit missions to São Paulo. In 1631 Ruiz de Montoya
 evacuated Loreto and San Ignacio, the two last missions to survive in El
 Guairá, and took the people in a heroic analysis from El Guairá to the
 Paraná River. Twelve thousand Indians began this forced migration but
 only 4,000 survived its vicissitudes.

The northern territory of the Guaraní, between the Paraguay, Mhonéy
 (Miranda), and Jejui-guará Rivers and the Sierra de Amambay, was
 called the Province of Itatín after one of its local Guaraní subtribes. The
 Jesuits founded four missions here in 1631, but in 1632 these were all
 destroyed by the *mamelucos* from São Paulo. Later, two new missions
 were founded in the same area.

The same year the Jesuits entered the mountainous region in the Bra-
 zilian State of Rio Grande do Sul, which forms the divide between the
 basins of the Uruguay and the Jacuí Rivers. This was formerly called
 Tapé, but today only a branch of the mountain system is known as Sierra
 de los Tapes; the remainder is known as Sierra de San Martín and Cuchilla
 Grande. From 1632 to 1635, the Jesuits founded 10 "*reducciones*" here.
 The renewed assaults of the *mamelucos* in 1638 forced the Jesuits to
 evacuate the missions of Tapé, a region that was forever lost to Portugal.
 After these last inroads, the Guaraní Indians received guns and, on two
 occasions—at Caazapá-guará and at Mbororé (1639 and 1640)—they
 defeated the *mamelucos*. From 1687 to 1707, eight new missions were

handed which, together with the others, formed the 23 cities of the so-called "Paraguayan State of the Jesuits."

The Jesuit expansion was resisted by certain *Guaraní* shamans, chiefs, and especially warriors, who seem to have been very numerous in this period of hardship and misery. Meanwhile, the Jesuits were persecuted by the *comandantes*, who could not tolerate the loss of so many Indians to the missionaries. The southern missions of Yagupá and La Cruz were often raided by the hordes of the *Fard*, *Mishana*, *Misana*, and *Chiriquí* Indians. Several expeditions of *Guaraní* were led by Spanish officers against these wild tribes.

The first blow to the Jesuits was the treaty of 1750 between Spain and Portugal, by which Philip VI yielded to Portugal seven Jesuit missions on the eastern side of the Uruguay River (San Borja, San Martín, San Luis, San Lorenzo, Santo Ángel, San Miguel, and San Juan) in exchange for the colony of Sacramento. The Indians refused to abandon their villages and resisted by arms the forced expeditions. Both Spain and Portugal had to send armies, which defeated the Indians in 1756. Three years later, the *Treatado de Lisboa* was signed and the seven towns were returned to the Jesuits, but in the meantime they had been partially destroyed and the Indian population, estimated at 25,000 a few years before, had considerably decreased. [161]

The year 1767, when all Jesuits were expelled from South America, is a fatal date in the history of the South American Indians. The Indians who had been under Jesuit rule dwindled or disappeared altogether. Tribes left their missions to return to the bush; Indians in Jesuit colonies reverted to barbarism and regions previously explored again became geographical blanks on the map.

The new charter which Don Francisco de Paula Borzelli y Urra drafted for the missions after the expulsion of the Jesuits differed from the previous system only in minor points. The so-called communal feature of the Jesuit regime and the restrictions on commerce were maintained, but none of the more progressive aspects of the plan, such as the foundation of a University, were ever applied. Control of the missions was given to Franciscans, assisted by lay administrators. The results were haphazard. The missions were invaded by colonists who robbed the Indians of their lands and destroyed the cattle and most plantations. The fields were abandoned and the handicrafts forgotten through lack of teachers. The Indians were forced to work for the Whites and were victimized by the local authorities. Many continued to live on their plantations but others returned to the forests. Those who remained in the missions were completely demoralized by alcoholism and the bad example of the colonists. The wars of independence and the later national wars completed the decadence and the ruin of the missions. In 1801 the seven towns in Uruguay were given back to Portugal; in 1817 the

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[775] Guaraní, French, ordered the destruction of the few missions south of
the Paraná River. The 13 missions between the Paraná and Uruguay
Rivers were abandoned during the war of 1814-18. The Guaraní who
were not slaughtered settled in small villages, often near the ruins
missions. In 1848 the dictator of Paraguay, Carlos Antonio López,
suppressed Barreda's regime and forced the 4,000 Guaraní who still
occupied missions to live in ordinary villages like the remainder of the
Paraguayan population. The last vestiges of the Jesuit system disappeared
after that date.

The Jesuit missions of Paraguay have been the subject of considerable
controversy concerning their alleged communalistic organization.

CULTURE

HOUSEHOLD ACTIVITIES

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The early Guaraní were to have been prolific horticulturists, perhaps
superior to their modern descendants, the Caiçapá, who are said to be
unable to subsist entirely on the output of their small fields. Like the
Tupinambá, the Guaraní supplemented their diet with all kinds of wild
fruits, and with game and fish.

[974] Farming.—The whole community, among both ancient and modern
Guaraní, cooperated in clearing a large field by the slash-and-burn method
in a thick forest and then subdivided it into family plots. Planting and
[975] weeding were regulated by the course of the seasons. The main agricul-
[976] tural tool was the digging stick. After five or six years of cultivation
fields were considered exhausted and were abandoned.

Most plants typical of the Tropics, except capsaicin pepper, were raised
by the Guaraní and are still grown by their descendants, the Caiçapá and
the Paraguayan Mestizo. Manioc, mainly the sweet species, and maize
are the staples. The Caiçapá cultivate manioc, maize (3 varieties), sev-
eral varieties of sweet potatoes, beans, winged beans (*Xanthoxylum* sp.), a tuber
called carube (*Discorhiza* sp.), a leguminous called sileneira, peanuts,
pumpkins, bananas, papayas, and watermelons. They also grow an herb
[977] (*Nimbia* sp.) for curing serpent bites, and two shrubs (*Elaphoglossum*
[978] sp., and *Cela hirsuta-juba*), the seeds of which serve as beads. The Pot'
[979] and Chiripá raise tarapá roots, or caba de Castilla (*Arundo donax*), for
[980] their arrow shafts. The Caiçapá are very fond of sugarcane, which is
for them a delicacy.

122 Gathering wild foods.—The Guaraní of the southern Brazilian plateau
consumed great quantities of pine nuts (*Araucaria brasiliensis*), which
are abundant in that region.

[978] The modern Caiçapá subsist far more than did their ancestors on wild
plants, especially pinho palme (*Cocos rostratiflora*). This tree not
only provides them leaves for making baskets, but also with vitamin-rich
terminal shoots, with juicy fruits, oily nuts, and pith which the Indians

NOTE CONTINUED

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Cayua are crops and means to and about 140 crops in each house which are growing on the crops.

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A type of economic activity now quite important in a good number of cases is that which the Cayua call by the southern Brazilian colloquialism, *changement* or *change*, which means to hire oneself out to another for payment in money or in kind -- in effect, a sort of penance. This is the average point of economic contact of the Cayua of Tapajuary with the neighboring whites, for many of whom the Indians work for several weeks or even months out of a year, making crops or in the production of forest mate (*lha pampayama*). (This is one of the most important and characteristic products of the region for the Brazilian inhabitants.) Penance is sometimes seasonal and occasional for some of the Cayua, although a few men manage to spend rather extended periods of time away from the village during many parts of the year. Although perhaps fewer individuals work for whites than hunt and fish, as a rule more time is spent in hunting and fishing. A large number of individuals practically never work as penance, however, and others do such work only very irregularly. Penance is probably the most direct and obvious way of getting those things for which the Cayua have come to depend upon the whites, knives and machetes, cloth and thread, salt, soap, iron pots, cooking grease, meat, beer, etc. There is very little demand for the products of the Indians themselves, other than for their own labor, and in such crude and unorganized markets as can be said to exist for the sale of Indian products the Cayua almost invariably come off second best in the hands of their white neighbors.

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The most important parts of the woman's role in Cayua economy, beyond her ubiquitous household tasks of cooking, cleaning, and tending children and chickens, are those related to agricultural activities. Women is the burden-bearer for most of the Cayua. The female, through the use of a simple carrying basket, constitutes the transportation system of Cayua economy. The Cayua woman also makes so many important pieces in the actual production of food in the region, and can, as far as the division of labor goes, in the case of a widow or a divorcee, do almost any work except the heaviest of agricultural labor. This latter situation is not very frequent, however, and merely serves to show the range of the female economic role.

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under certain conditions. Some activities in the agricultural work of the *roga*, nevertheless, are preferably if not necessarily performed by the women.

Very important as a strictly feminine contribution to the economy is the woman's part as the producer of *chicha*.² The *chicha*-maker is important to the economy in two ways: 1) the *chicha* which she produces is consumed as a beverage, doubtless has nutritive as well as socially ascribed value, and is therefore a "good"; and 2) her *chicha* is essential in the system of reciprocal joint labor. After every work party, the wife or some close female relative of the man for whom the others have worked offers *chicha* which she has made. Cayua *chicha*-making is in a certain sense, of course, only a rather specialized aspect of cooking. *Chicha*-making is today closely related to agricultural activity and the drink is made from agricultural products, corn, potatoes, manioc and sugar cane juice. Its present use and function in the agricultural round of things is unmistakable.

Historic Influences on Cayua Culture

In general outline, the influences which have played upon the culture of the Cayua during recorded history, at least within the period with which we shall be concerned in this paper, are very similar to influences upon indigenous culture elsewhere in the Americas occasioned by the coming of the Europeans. They are: 1) the introduction of metal tools and the other common trade goods of expanding European civilization; 2) more and more direct contact of the white settlers with the indigenous peoples bringing with it varying results; and, finally, 3) the restriction of territories and the dislocation of the people from their former territories, with the frequent and logical result of such a trend, establishment on reservations.

The Jesuits, 1610-1768

Very little can be said here about what may have been the influences upon the Cayua of the Jesuits with their missionary set-

² "Chicha" is the Spanish and the Portuguese word as employed by the Cayua. Their own word for this beverage is *ca' wi'*.

174 affected, even after the mission empire was destroyed and the Indians
797 fled from threatened destruction and enslavement at the hands of the
Portuguese and Spanish settlers who finally eliminated the control
and protection of the Jesuits over the Indians (1767).

Post-Jesuit Period

174 If for the time being we must remain in doubt as to how the
Cayua may have been affected by agricultural (and other) elements
• 648 of Jesuit origin, it is at least certain that, following the Jesuit ex-
pulsion, the Cayua could have come under no other such consistent
influence until very recently. White contact was no doubt increasing
during this time, but it was not constant nor consistent.

241 In agricultural matters the Cayua are reported to have been very
slightly developed as late as the end of the 19th century. Sampaio
174 has the following to say on this point: "In civilized life their aptitude
648 for farming is very meagre. They seem to suffer from nostalgia, and
the individuals of this tribe are not few who have returned to the
primitive life of the nomad, which seems to them to be the only way
of life for their people."¹¹ Sampaio, it should be noted, is speaking
of the Cayua from the valley of the Paranapanema, doubtless a region
of rather more intensive and constant contact with the Brazilian set-
tlers. Von Koenigswald emphasizes the same lack of development with
regard to Cayua agriculture. He mentions that an attempt, which
met with little success, had been initiated some years before (1855) by
the government of the State of Paraná to settle the Cayua of that
region and make them into agriculturists.¹²

Between the time when Sampaio and von Koenigswald wrote and
the present date, we cannot be very certain of what has happened.
The author has been able to encounter in the literature almost no
mention of the Brazilian Cayua of this period. The great expansion
of coffee economy in the state of São Paulo falls fairly well into the
period, and for the states of Paraná and Mato Grosso the extractive
industry of *herua mate* no doubt experienced a notable growth, pre-
cisely in those regions many of which had formerly been Cayua do-
main.

¹¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 41.

¹² Von Koenigswald, *op. cit.*

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

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We may assume with relative certainty that white contact with the Cayua was sometimes far from favorable to the latter, an impression confirmed in an article by von Ihering in 1911.¹⁶ He writes that there had been organized Indian hunts by Brazilians within the state of São Paulo, and presumably elsewhere, to avenge Indian attacks against Brazilian lives and property. Sometimes those hunts were led by professional Indian hunters or "*bugreiros*" (from *bugre*, a depreciative term for Indians) who prided themselves on their prowess, skill, and exploits in these undertakings. Nor did these Indian hunters always take the necessary pains to distinguish between aggressive and warlike Indians, on the one hand, and peaceful and often timid groups, on the other, among the latter of which the Cayua were doubtless to be included. Such attacks, actual or threatened, may have played a part in the withdrawal of Cayua frontiers toward the south and west. (174 648 721)

The westward movement of Brazilian population, first in connection with coffee cultivation and later with cotton cultivation and cattle raising, and the northward pressure of Paraguayans and Argentinians working and exploring the mate groves undoubtedly had their effect upon the Cayua, who still in von Koenigswald's day were doing their best to avoid the white settlers, just as they may have formerly avoided the Jesuits and their mortal enemies on the north, the Guaycuru, and other Indians. According to von Koenigswald, the very way of life of the Cayua was one of avoidance, and it is for this reason, he says, that, although they have been more or less on the frontiers of civilization for several hundred years, they are little known and little has been written about them.¹⁷ (174 648)

Official Limitation of Cayua Territories

Within the memory of living Cayua in Taquapiry, an area was surveyed and established as a *reserva* (government reservation) for (657)

¹⁶ Von Ihering, Hermann, "A questão dos Índios no Brasil," *Revista do Museu Paulista*, vol. viii (1911, São Paulo), pp. 112-140. (113)

¹⁷ It is with certain justice that Radin has referred to the Tupi-Guarani peoples as "wanderers and eluders". The Cayua, to judge from opinions expressed in the literature, were apparently no exception. Métraux has suggested that this tendency to elusiveness and avoidance on the part of the Tupi-Guarani peoples is the main reason for their great migrations in this post-Columbian period.

657 them. Some of the older Cayuá say they remember an individual they called "General" who allegedly established for them a much larger territory, which, however, was not apparently surveyed.¹⁸ The present *reservas* of the Cayuá of southern Mato Grosso were probably established not more than 20 or 30 years ago, and any close supervision of them by the S. P. I. is, in most cases, still more recent.¹⁹ The *posto* from which Taquapiry affairs are "supervised" dates only from the 30's, and the supervision is virtually nominal inasmuch as the officer in charge does not seem to visit the place more than three or four times a year.

182 The expanding white frontier resulted in a limitation of the
• 648 former territories as well as (in effect somewhat the same thing) a
† 333 limitation of traditional Cayuá mobility. We shall see that this restriction of territory and mobility inhibited Cayuá economic development in one direction, gradually at first, but finally almost completely: the Cayuá sooner or later found it impossible to live principally by hunting and fishing, with only a supplementary agriculture.

The Question of Cayuá Canoeing

501 Unless we admit the possibility that there may have been both
178 canoe and non-canoe Cayuá, or at least some differences between
484 Cayuá groups with regard to the extent of use of the canoe, we must be rather impressed by the short space of time which has elapsed since Sampaio and von Koenigswald wrote, around the turn of the century, describing the development of canoe travel. Sampaio records that "the Cayuá are still excellent canoeists and very able swimmers, performing veritable feats of skill in the turbulent currents of white-water rivers; they are consummate devotees of river travel."²⁰ And von Koenigswald writes: "Of the greatest importance to the Cayuá are their canoes... in which they make voyages lasting months."

[175] ¹⁸ This would probably place the time of the first presumed limitation of territory at Taquapiry as about 1905.

[127] ¹⁹ Facts and dates concerning the actual establishment of these *reservas* and the S. P. I. administration of them are probably available in the archives of the S. P. I. Unfortunately for the completeness of this paper, such information had not been received at the time of writing. The exact dates, however, are not of primary importance to the present theme.

²⁰ Sampaio, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guaraní SM4
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In order to explore new regions for hunting and fishing possibilities, to visit distant relatives or friends, these Indians employ waterways almost exclusively, principally when the rivers are full and the rapids and falls easier to pass. On these voyages the entire family is accommodated in the canoe...²¹

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These observations on the extent, skill, and dexterity with which the Cayua formerly used the canoe are all the more interesting since the Cayua of Taquapiry, as well as other Cayua of southern Mato Grosso, apparently do little or nothing with the canoe today. The Taquapiry group lives at some distance from navigable waters, and practically all of their travelling, usually not very extensive, is done overland.²²

By abandoning the canoe, the Cayua gave up one of the most obvious and most useful means of moving about in a region served largely by the extensive fluvial system of the great Paraná and its tributaries. This fact, together with the facts that the Cayua frontier had been gradually receding over a period of many years, and that the Cayua were finally assigned to *reservas* represent major forces for Cayua sedentarism. Whether the Cayua gave up the canoe because they were assigned to territories where canoes would be of little utility, or whether the canoe had already been more or less abandoned in the general process of "retreat", before the assignment to *reservas*, is an interesting question though one which is somewhat peripheral to our purpose here.²³

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²¹ Von Koenigswald, *op. cit.*

²² It could not be said, however, that because the Cayua no longer use canoes, nor have used them for some years, at least, the technique of making canoes is dying out among them. The large wooden tanks or vessels, which they carve from solid tree trunks in order to make the "tanks" necessary in the preparation of communal *chichas*, are made in essentially the same way as the dugout canoe of the region. They are up to twenty feet or more long. Baldus (Dr. Herbert Baldus, Professor of Ethnology, Escola Livre de Sociologia e Política de São Paulo) called the attention of the writer to the fact that von den Steinen describes the use by the Yuruna, a Tupi tribe of the Rio Xingú, of the canoe as a vessel for fermented drinks and the paddle as a stirring ladle. An analogy between the canoe and the wooden *chicha* vessel of the Cayua is quite apparent as to the form and the technique of manufacture.

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²³ It may be significant, when considering the disappearance of canoeing in the case of the Cayua, to record that migrating whites in Brazil characteristically chose river-course routes, especially in difficult country. Canoe Indians may for

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Loss of Hunting and Fishing Facilities

224 Mate exploitation in the area and the increasing presence of
178 white settlers, among other things, probably led to a decrease in the
• (648) supply of game, at least of the larger species. To some extent, the
animals which play any important part in the diet of the Cayua of
today are those which do not interest the whites because they are
not considered particularly desirable or fit for eating. In Taquapiry,
226 at least, fishing also has probably suffered from increasing sedentarism.
178 The only fish afforded by the little streams in the immediate vicinity
of this particular settlement are tiny, minnow-like creatures which,
although they are occasionally eaten, could not play an important
role in the diet. To reach bodies of water with sizable fish it is neces-
sary to make at least a good half-day's foot journey or more. Even
then, the results frequently do not seem to justify the effort of the
journey. For the men of present-day Taquapiry, there are only two
(224) alternatives. If one wishes to depend largely upon fish and game — as
(241) one or two individuals do — he must almost do without a roça since
it is necessary to spend a great deal of time in producing even moder-
ate hunting and fishing results. Actually, the few men at Taquapiry
who do spend an important part of their time hunting and fishing
are able to do so only because they belong to production-consumption
groups other members of which produce agricultural food. For the
Cayua man whose major activity is agriculture, fishing and hunting
are largely limited to Saturdays and Sundays.

Although it is still known by tradition, *timbó*-fishing is not prac-
ticed today at Taquapiry.²⁴ No reason could be given by informants

(648) this reason have been diverted from their preferred routes, in the regions which
were traversed by whites, and hence, as a result, from their use of the canoe.

(824) ²⁴ The *timbó* formerly used by the Cayua is said to be a large, jointed liana.
The juice, of course, is poisonous to fish. Formerly, groups of men — for it was
necessary to have at least several for the job — would cut the required *timbó* from
the forest and go to the bank of a likely stream or back water. The *timbó* had to
be pounded and beaten with sticks and rocks so that its juice would run down
to the water, or the crushed trunks themselves put in the water to poison it. The
catch by this method is believed by present-day Cayua to have been large enough,
generally, to satisfy the requirements of all those who participated in the party
and among whom the fish taken were stated to have been divided.

175 Koenigswald,²⁷ emphasizing the reticent nature of the Cayuá in seek-
722 ing the deepest recesses of the forest in an effort to keep out of harm's
182 way, states that it was not only the whites of whom the Cayuá were
afraid but also other hostile Indian tribes, including especially the
Mbaya.

177 It does not seem necessary to dwell upon the difficulties of agri-
241 culture with reference to a group which lived in constant fear of
enemies and in constant readiness to abandon on short notice any
• 648 given residence for another.²⁸ The coming of the whites and the
182 stabilizing influences which they doubtless brought, at least as far
[657] as reducing open warfare is concerned, culminated finally in the
establishment and reservations in recent years, not only of the Cayuá,
but also of the Guaycurú peoples themselves.²⁹ This served to remove
at least one difficulty in the way of an increase in Cayuá agriculture.

177 A more positive force making for the development of Cayuá agri-
241 culture is that of an improved agricultural technology made possible
412 by the tools which the Indians received from the Europeans and upon
182 which they have come to depend so completely today. It is difficult
to imagine what Cayuá agriculture might be like without the *facaço*
or *machete*.³⁰ This tool is used to fell trees — even reasonably large
ones if no ax is available, to dig, to clear underbrush, and to plant.
It is the *sine qua non* of Cayuá agricultural technique today and
could, conceivably, supplant in the technology every white-introduced

²⁷ *Op. cit.*

²⁸ The impression that Rengger gives of the Cayuá agriculture of the time of his visit is very much like that of the agriculture of the seminomads of the Malay peninsula with their slash-and-burn technique, their very irregular planting of fields, only to leave them during the growing season and count upon reaping some small portion of the harvest upon passing that way at a later time, during the season of fruit-bearing. It is not difficult, either, to believe that present-day Cayuá agriculture had its origin in such a system: many Cayuá *roças* still present an aspect, especially when new and just cut and burned from the *mata*, quite reminiscent of that which Rengger describes. But, in general, Cayuá agriculture of the present is on a much larger scale, *roças* are much better made and kept, and the whole presents a more settled and permanent appearance.

²⁹ E. g. the Caduveo of the S. P. I. post "Bananal" in Mato Grosso.

³⁰ *Facaço* is the Portuguese word; the Cayuá, living as they do, surrounded as much by influences from Paraguay as by Brazilian influences, usually say "machete" but with a soft or Portuguese "ch". The effect is roughly that of the average English speaker pronouncing the Spanish word.

Cayua Peonage

In turning now to Cayua peonage, we should perhaps call to mind the remarks made earlier in this article regarding the practice of the Cayua to "*changuear*" for neighboring whites, that is to work for them for a few days or weeks, living in quarters provided by the *patrão*, or employer, eating (and paying for) the food he provides, and, finally, receiving goods, or sometimes money, in return for services rendered. Without considering all of the many possible aspects of this growing practice — a practice which could never have been present in Cayua culture until whites began to settle in considerable numbers in the area — we may mention a few of the less debatable influences exercised by the arrangement upon the economy and the economic ideas of the Cayua.

It is scarcely necessary to point out that this form of peonage provides the closest and most intense contact that yet exists between Cayua and non-Indians and that it involves only men. Thus, whatever ideas may enter Cayua culture by way of the peonage system will more than likely be introduced by the men. Apparently, a number of such ideas have entered and are still entering. Apart from the obvious effect of Cayua experiments with new plants in their *roças*, new agricultural techniques (possibly), and maybe even new or improved tools (although actually the local whites are just about as "backward" as the Indians, and their agriculture is clearly based in large part on that of the Indians), one of the most important influences of the peonage system on Cayua economy is the introduction of money or other exchange values with regard to Cayua goods and services, not only without Cayua society but also within.

From working for whites and for their own self-interest and protection, the Cayua who serve as peons have naturally developed a fairly clear idea of the conventional values in money or goods of their various services: a day's work, or more likely a given unit area of *capoeira*,²³ is worth so much to *roçar* or clear. If it is very "dirty", that is, if it requires considerable work to clear, it is worth more; if relatively "clean", not so much. The rate of payment for planting would also be different because the "*serviço*," or work involved, is

²³ Scrub second growth where a *roça* has been cut at least once before.

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241 different. And so on. Although estimating the value of services seems
435 quite rude and approximate, the experienced peon is little likely to
464 be cheated by his *patrão* — at that point in the arrangement, at least.
465 Not only does the idea of payment for services emerge here, then, but
also that of different values in keeping with different services.

Nor is the payment of services the only value concept that the
• 648 Cayuá peons experience and carry back to their own society. While
466 working for their *patrões*, who sometimes live at considerable distance
from the home village, the peons' "board" is furnished by the *patrões*.
† 77 Excessive prices are often charged and other forms of cheating prac-
[273] tices, especially when the Indians have been made drunk from *pinga*²²
furnished (and charged for) by the *patrão*. But under normal cir-
cumstances predictable prices will prevail and also ones which are
determined by "market influences" — alleged at least, if the "market"
happens to be favorable to the *patrão*. A certain amount of dicker-
ing always goes on. For example, if originally agreed that cloth
would be received as payment for services and the peon later decides
that he prefers meat, grease, or salt, a discussion with the *patrão* will
probably ensue regarding what should be the respective amounts
payable in these substitutes. Sooner or later the peon will come to
know the relative money and barter values of almost all the staple,
essential goods of the area, and if he receive his payment in money,
he may even have occasion to try out his knowledge of prices in one
of the general stores of the vicinity. There is, then, ample opportu-
nity for the Cayuá — even the non-peon sometimes — to become ac-
customed, not only to the general idea of placing values upon goods
and services, but to thinking in terms of given values for given
products and services.

177 The point, of course, is that at Taquapiry the notion of prices
178 for goods and services, as well as the actual prevailing prices, have
437 come to be associated with economic activities within Cayuá society,
438 as well as between Cayuá and non-Cayuá. Not only are some products
of the Cayuá *roça* coming to be produced on a scale sufficient for
a part of the crop to be sold for cash or bartered to non-Cayuá, but
the Cayuá are also beginning to barter or sell produce among them-
selves, although still to a very limited extent. An example noted by

²² A highly alcoholic drink of distilled, fermented cane juice. Very common
in Brazil.

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/fn. 2 cont./ from the corocotoquys to the paycunos two, and near them are the curumanos and ximeonos, and from there they take a four or five days' journey to the carcaras who are the masters of the metal, and together with them are the camires who similarly are the masters of the metal. " Naturally the "maya" concerned in some of these lists are the Mbaya' /Mbaya/ of the Guaikurú /Guaicuru/ family.

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 /302/ This infiltration of objects probably lasted a very long time before the Guaraní had the idea of going themselves to get them at their source. Notions about the Inca Empire, at first vague and uncertain, must have become more precise little by little and must have increased their desire to know with their own eyes the fabulous men and countries which produced so many beautiful and strange things. We must imagine the attitude of the Guaraní Indians toward the populations subject to the Inca as being /303/ in every way similar to that of their descendants, the Chiriguano, and the present-day small tribes of the Chaco with respect to the white men. There are still tribes who have never seen them, but who already possess iron objects whose importance in the struggle for life they appreciate fully. I have in my collections two Tsirakua burins whose points are of iron, and yet these Indians have never seen a white man and probably have scarcely heard of them. If there is a chance to be able to approach without danger half-breed or creole villages, they will do it. Thus it is that we have each year a temporary migration of thousands of Indians toward the ingenios (sugar mills) of Argentina. Among the numerous tribes which make their way toward the sugar-cane plantations, there are perhaps many who had never had any direct contact with the white men to whom they are going in order to seek an easing of their lives and an improvement in their material conditions. By leaving for the Chaco and the Andes, the Guaraní thus obey the same aspirations as these poor Tšawanko (Chiriguano) whom one meets in autumn on the highways which lead to Argentina.

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on the highways which lead to Argentina. If the Guarani invasion was brutal, it is because they felt powerful enough to try to take possession of the coveted riches by force. Not long ago the Chiriguano did not hesitate to attack the farms of the creoles if they profited by it or if a wrong had been done to them.

We must remember also that the Guarani were warlike; used to overcoming neighboring tribes, they did not draw back at the prospect of distant expeditions and besides were endowed with a spirit of adventure, which has caused them to be called the "Phoenicians of South America." At the beginning of the 16th century the Guarani were in the full swing of expansion; the crossing of the Chaco was not going to stop them.

The first Guarani who crossed the Chaco and came home again richly clothed, adorned with metal ornaments, doubtless aroused the same attitude which is felt toward any modern Chiriguano who comes back to his village after six months' stay in Argentina. One should see them then, dressed from head to foot, booted and spurred and prancing about proudly on a more or less emaciated horse. Question them about their recollections: with pride they will tell you about their love affairs, will allude to their bloody brawls, and will express their admiration for all the surprising things they have seen. They will talk to you especially about their gains, for they left in order to have knives, axes, heads of cattle. It is those assets which have given them "face" and improved their existence, and the acquisition is clothed in all the charms of adventure and a trip to the land of wonders (1).

1. On the attraction that Peru exerted on the Guarani Indians and on the trips the latter made toward the Cordillera, see the texts cited by Gandia (2, p. 32, notes 1 and 2). This is why the Guarani insisted very strongly that Irala lead them to the land of the Indian "masters of the metal."

In a letter from Martín González (1556) quoted by Gandia, it is said that at Asunción "there are many Indians who have gone, come

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773 The Spanish, addressing the Uratuvere, who formed a small
103 Guarani colony in the region of the Xaray /Xaraye/, declared
175 to them that they had come to bring them iron, to chastize the
● [648] bad ones and to reward the good ones. To that the latter
answered "that they were very pleased since they had very much
wanted to see us in their lands, and that through us they would
learn the ways and God would not be offended with them and
would give them more fruits on the land, and that their chief,
Candire, had so wished it." /Translated from the Spanish. /
The account continues in these words: "He had asked them where
he was and why they called him Candire. He said that he was
dead, and as for the reason for the name, he said that in times
past his father was called Caya, who united the other neighboring
peoples and entered among the Ortugueses /Pl. II appears here/
/307/ and among the Ontes, until he arrived at the towns of
Paicocoro, the chief cacique, and the towns of Paicuri, and he
asked for the Candire who is master of the true metal and of all
good things." /Translated from the Spanish. / At first sight
one sees in this passage an obvious contradiction which can only
be explained by the difficulties the Spaniards had in understanding
their interlocutor: Candire on the one hand, is represented as a
powerful Guarani chief who led them in a migration, and, on
the other, he is a personage, "master of the true metal and all
good things," in the quest of whom this same Candire left! Let
us look further and try to disentangle this confusion. The country
where Candire lives is depicted as having "deer with long hair"
from which clothes are woven; gold and silver are found there,
as well as a yellow metal which smells bad and with which tools
are made (copper and bronze). Several lines farther on the
Guarani informant declares that in the Sierra de Acharagua there
exists a river from which yellow metal is taken: "Asking what
Araraguagua (sic) is, they said that it is a very large sierra that
continued far, and that one part was delimited by a very large
lake, and that in the other part was a very large population of
people who had only one chief, who was lord of all, who was
called Candire; and that in the latter's presence all joined to
[Text Continues on P. 20]

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those routes would already have closed up again with forest and grass ... " /translated from the Spanish/.

From time to time there were skirmishes with the Guaikurú, Samuko /Zamuco/, or Matako /Mataco/ Indians, but for the Guaraní, who for a long time had been used to fighting the wild Indians of the Chaco, these combats did not take them by surprise. They contented themselves by attracting the least possible attention by avoiding setting fire to the bush or simply making too much smoke.

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None of the details I have just given is the fruit of my fancy. In order to describe these migrations it has been enough to recall the scenes I witnessed among the descendants of these ancient Guaraní and to glean some facts from the chronicles or documents in which are recounted for us the crossings of the Chaco made by the Guaraní before or during the Spanish con-

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quest. Does anyone want some examples? I take them from the commentaries of Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca and from the Relación de Domingo Martínez de Irala.

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/311/ This has to do with the entrada which Governor Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca made into the Chaco in search of a way to the country of the Chané. "The Guaraní Indians whom the governor took along lived on what the Governor had them given out of the reserve provisions and on honey which they drew from the trees. They also procured some game for themselves by killing peccaries, tapirs, and deer, which seemed to be abundant in that land; nevertheless, since the band who came with him were numerous, they made noise and put the wild animals to flight, which made the hunting not very fruitful. Spaniards and Indians also ate the fruit of wild trees, of which there was a great quantity ... they took advantage likewise of the fruit of the palm trees which abound in this region. They do not eat dates, but are satisfied to break their pits. The inside [252] is round and like a sweet almond. The Indians make a flour of it, which is an excellent food; they also eat the palm cabbages, which are very good." (Hernández, p. 303.)

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[262] Elsewhere (Hernández, p. 241): "The Spanish, taking with them as guides some Indians and several individuals who said they knew the way, walked for thirty days across deserts where they suffered very much from hunger and thirst, to such a degree that some Indians died ... they returned eating wild thistles all the way. For something to drink they extracted the juice from these thistles and other weeds."

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[271] "Aracare ... ordered them (the Guaraní who were accompanying a Spanish expedition into the Chaco) to set fire to the prairies they were crossing, which was the equivalent of warning the enemy Indians whose territory they were going through to come and bar their way and kill them. They did that against the custom and discipline observed by those who make expeditions in this country and against the practice of the Indians themselves." (Hernández, p. 228.)

A Guaraní from Puerto de los Reyes, who had taken part in an expedition to look for metal, reported to Irala "that he had heard it said that they took five moons before reaching the place where the metal was, and he added that the ones from Itatin who lived more than a hundred leagues lower asserted that they took no more than three months and claimed that they made this trip in five months since they had to pass so close to the spot where their homes were. He said that what he was claiming was the truth, but that the duration of this trip was due to the fact that they often stayed to eat in regions which appeared fertile and that during the time he was with them they stayed in one place three months and that this was why it took them so long." (Relación de Domingo Martínez de Irala, p. 350.)

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167 Against the frequency of these warlike expeditions of the Guaraní, there /312/ will be raised the objection of the insurmountable obstacles the Chaco presents, the unprecedented difficulties the Europeans had in trying to cross it, the bloody sacrifices all the expeditions risking it must have made. I shall reply by reporting the account of a contemporary migration made to me by my old friend and host, "Captain" Taruirí of Caipipendí. Some years ago, old Taruirí, having learned

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In olden days numerous Paraguayans emerged into our territory near the Izozoc and they went to fight on the side of the Guarayú and Santa Cruz. From there they went on to Cochabamba. They gave battle over there, then went to Oruro. Their colonel was killed. They scattered in every direction. One of them came to Macharetí where the "Capitan grande," Mandepona, was. The latter told Cipriano, who was then a young man: "Let us go to Paraguay." Mandepona had given this Paraguayan ten "soldiers." Cipriano did not want to go with them. The ten went down the Pilcomayo and arrived at a village near Paraguay. /Plate III appears here./ /313/ A soldier richly decked out with silver, with a horse whose harness was of the same metal, came to meet them to examine them. The Paraguayan they were escorting went to speak with this soldier, but the others did not hear what they were saying. While these two were talking, they saw the Toba arrive with a piece of cloth between their legs and their chests and arms painted with charcoal. The Toba asked them where they were coming from and where they were going. The Chiriguano answered: "To visit you." The Toba refused to allow them to continue on their way, although they were only one league from Paraguay. As an excuse they told them that they were in the act of making war. The Paraguayan rode behind the soldier, and the ten Chiriguano returned to Macharetí.

The first part of this story seems to be a modern adaptation of Alejo García's adventure. I do not know what event could have given rise to this legend, which, had it been true, would have been very much to the taste of the Paraguayan government. As for the trip of the ten Chiriguano from Macharetí, it has the appearance of being wholly authentic.

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648 The crossing of the Chaco is a less difficult undertaking for Indians than for white men. Formerly these trips from the Andes to Paraguay must have been facilitated by a greater density of the native population. It is enough to recall the relatively easy trip of Juan de Ayolas going from Paraguay to the country of the Chané and coming back without having to cope with any particular obstacles. The exploration of Alvar Núñez

[Text continues on p. 30]

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The exploration of Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca, continued by his lieutenant, Francisco de Ribera, is a second example that shows very well that the excursions of the Guarani did not constitute exceptional deeds that were extremely dangerous to accomplish.

Having arrived at a certain distance from the spurs of the Andes, the Guarani entered the territory of the Chané Indians.

It was in one of these numerous warlike ventures of the Guarani that the Portuguese adventurer Alejo García took part with several other comrades.

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I am convinced that the 2,000 (according to Díaz de Guzmán, p. 26) Guarani whom this adventurer accompanied as far as Peru formed only one of the numerous bands of warriors of this nation who, each year, from every point of the Guarani territory, used to cross the Paraguay River, then the deserts of the Chaco.

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Ruy Díaz de Guzmán, who reports this event, sees things in too simple a light. A migration is not made at one time nor in one year. That of the Guarani lasted perhaps several decades, without, however, necessarily speaking of centuries. Twenty or thirty years must have sufficed for the nucleus of the Chiriguano nation to form between the upper Pilcomayo and the Guapay River. The penetration of the Guarani into /314/ the Chaco took place in a rather chaotic and incoherent fashion. The conquistadors were continually meeting on their route Guarani groups who, for one reason or another, could not succeed in joining their brothers established beyond the Chaco.

These Guarani, who blazed the trails followed by the invaders, were valuable guides for the Spanish adventurers, and they were the ones who led them to Peru. For long years there were uninterrupted communication and incessant coming and going between Paraguay and the eastern slope of the Bolivian Andes.

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/fn. 1 cont. / who came to us themselves and others from near their land, and what they say agrees with what this one or that one tells us, and they say that they were slaves of a xristiano /Christian/ who came from the island of santa catalina and demanded gold and silver and they say that he got them from a race of carioes who took them for slaves and it was said the xrisptiano garçia, etc." /translated from the Spanish/. This passage seems to indicate that García and his companions found Guaraní already established at the foot of the Andes and that the latter had already reduced Chané groups into slavery.

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The most significant of these texts is the one we find in the Relación de Domingo Martínez de Irala, pp. 346-347. Irala was at Puerto de los Reyes on the Paraguay River when "on the brigantine where he was, there came a principal with three other yndios /Indians/ who spoke the guarani language just like the guaranis themselves; the said principal said that he is called theroçe, and one yndio of those who came with him, who was small in body, said that he was called xagoani and the guaranys called him maraana; without being asked anything, he said he had lived and had been a slave without pay /esclavo de gracia/, that the yndios named him maratya and called him by the two names; he and the said principal and all his house were not from the said port and they were the ones that were called chanés; asked through the said languages why they were called chanes, he said they were of the race of the chanes who were in the interior land and who are called çeritocoçi and that thus among the

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/fn. 1 cont./ said chanes each pueblo had its name, although all were one race; asked how they came to speak guarany and where he knew the said garcía, he said that the reason he spoke goarany was that in times past, before garcía came from brasil /Brazil/ to the said guarany, there was a great gathering of said guaranys in the port called ytatyn, in order to go to search for the metal, and that passing through their land at night they came upon their houses and killed many of them and took their women and children and brought them to the said port of ytatyn, and while they were slaves of the said goaranys in the said port, the said garcía passed through there, with whom he and two other brothers went in search of said metal with the said guaranys; asked if he went and traveled with the said García until he returned, he said yes; asked how far the said garcía had gone and where he got the metal that he carried, he said that he had gone as far as the race that they call paycunos, and that the chanes and the said paycunos gave him the said metal and that he had returned from there because he learned that a race called corocotoquis were having a great gathering against the said garcía and those who went with him, and he said that they returned to get more xristianos in order to return with them for the said metal ... " /translated from the Spanish/.

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This testimony and some other indications corroborate Gandía, who in this study gave evidence not only of vast erudition but also great sagacity. There is nevertheless one point on which I do not agree with him. The documents alluding to the migration of the Guaraní all speak of it as a recent event whose details were

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 195 decided to make an expedition and go back to the region where
 167 Alejo García had gone. When they had summoned many Indians
 of this province, they started going by bands and tribes. The
 G Indians from below, the ones from the Paraná, followed the
 course of the Araguay River, which is, as I have said, the
 131 Pilcomayo. These are the Indians who today live on the
 195 borders of the Corregimiento de Tarija: the Indians who lived
 167 in the region of Asunción entered on the right of the Paraguay
 River in the direction of Caáguazú. The Indians of
 Jeruquisaba and Carayazapera who were living higher up on
 the river left it near San Fernando. The latter are the ones
 who today are established on the Guapay River /317/ 20 leagues
 from the city of San Lorenzo, government of Santa Cruz de la
 Sierra. "

G In the commentaries of Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca
 195 (Hernández, pp. 299-301), it is a question of another migra-
 167 tion which does not appear to have any relation to that of
 648 García, which was several years later. I shall quote this passage
 in its entirety, for it illustrates well certain vicissitudes of this
 great ethnic movement: Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca had sent
 a Spanish detachment to the Xarayes Indians to try to confer,
 with them as intermediaries, with a group of Guaraní Indians
 who had settled a short time before in their neighborhood.
 The emissaries failed in their attempt, for Xaray and Guaraní
 were irreconcilable enemies. By way of consolation, the
 Xaray cacique had put them in touch with a Guaraní Indian,
 married to a Xaray woman, who had lived among them for a
 long time. "This Indian, who belonged to the Guaraní race,
 had been in the villages of the interior of the lands and /318/
 knew the roads which led there." The Guaraní was invited to
 accompany the Spanish detachment and, interrogated before
 the Governor by interpreters, he declared "that he was a Guaraní,
 originally from Itatí /Fig. 1 appears here/ on the Paraguay River;
 that in his youth his people summoned and made a great levy
 of Indians of all the land and went toward the land and the
 721 villages of the interior. He himself had gone there with his
 726 father and his relatives to make war on the natives of this region.

[Text continues on p. 41]

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there, for the Indians are excellent farmers. In the course of the war with these populations the Indians of his tribe, he added, destroyed and depopulated numerous villages, but doubtless they had already rebuilt them. He was asked whether there were large rivers and springs along the way. He answered that he saw rivers, but that they did not have much water; however, there were other very deep ones, springs, lagoons, game, deer and tapirs, fruits and honey. He was asked whether at the time his people made war on these tribes he had seen any who had silver and gold. He said that in the villages they pillaged there were many silver and gold plaques, /320/ labrets, ear ornaments, bracelets, crowns, axes, small vessels; and that it was all taken away from them when they were put to rout. Those who escaped were able to take along some silver plaques, beads, labrets; but the Guaxarapo stole them when they tried to pass through their territory and killed them. Those who settled in the bush had a few, and he had heard it said that at the present time it was the Xaray who possessed this silver. He declared he had seen the Xaray, when they war upon the Indians, take out silver plaques which they had carried away and plundered in the interior lands.

Against this bundle of proofs attesting to the recent character of the Guaraní migration, what is the value of Garcilaso de la Vega's vague affirmation (Vol. II, pp. 279-281) which some people want to oppose to it? According to this kind narrator, the Inca Yupanki would have undertaken the conquest of the Chiriguano country for the virtuous purpose of converting them to the good natural religion of the Peruvians. The Chiriguano would have been veritable monsters, feeding on human flesh, uniting by chance, living without fire or law, burying the bones of their dead in caves or in the hollows of trees. In a word, except for anthropophagy and the mention of the maloca (1), there is nothing in the picture of the

1. The description Garcilaso (Vol. II, p. 281) gives us of the large house of the Chiriguano is perfectly exact and very

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In 1540 during the expedition made by Domingo Martínez de Irala from Paraguay to the slopes of the Andes, 150 Guaraní Indians out of those he had with him as auxiliary troops deserted when they learned that they were in the vicinity of Chiriguano Indians "who are of the same nation." They deserted in order to go and join them. In 1548 the same thing had already happened (Díaz de Guzmán, p. 147).

The Guaraýú and the Panema are brothers of the Chiriguano and, like them, came from Paraguay at a recent date to settle in eastern Bolivia. Nordenskiöld (7), without giving any proof, correlates their migration with that of the Chiriguano and fixes its date at the beginning of the 18th century. The Guaraýú would have been none other than the descendants of those Guaraní who, having left northern Paraguay, would have gone obliquely toward the northwest in their trek toward the setting sun. I myself shared this opinion for a long time, until my attention was attracted by an episode in the history of the conquest which obliged me to recognize my error, at the same time permitting me to solve the problem of the origin of the Guaraýú.

The Itatin, known nowadays by the names Guaraýú and Panema, actually came from Itatin province in Paraguay (1):

1. The former province of Itatí in Paraguay extended to the south of the Apa River, formerly the Corrientes River.

but it is not a question of a migration in the usually understood sense, and their establishment in eastern Bolivia was later than that of the Chiriguano.

Nufrio de Chaves, going from Santa Cruz de la Sierra to Asunción in 1543, stopped among the Itatin and plotted with the chiefs of this tribe to transplant the Indians of this region beyond Paraguay. The project was carried out the following year when the Governor of Paraguay, Vergara, and Nufrio de Chaves organized the famous exodus toward Peru. While passing through the country of the Itatin, Nufrio de Chaves raised

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Thus, it is in 1564 that the Guarayú nation was formed.

In emigrating to the foot of the Andes, the Guarani had to win their present territory from populations who, like them, had formerly come from the basin of the great rivers of tropical America.

In spite of the similarity of their original habitats, the Indians dispossessed by the Guarani were superior to them in civilization. The Chiriguano even today scornfully style them tapii, that is, "enemies," but they call themselves Chané, and it is by this name that they appear in history from the first half of the 16th century.

The Chané, hard-working farmers and past masters in the art of pottery, belong to the great Arawak linguistic family.

The role of the Arawak in the development of civilization in South America has been considerable. Unfortunately, lacking any work of synthesis (1), it is still difficult to

1. Max Schmidt's thesis (1) on the Arawak contains some interesting facts. It should be redone because its documentation is completely insufficient. Max Schmidt took almost no notice of the old literature.

appreciate the true value of /323/ the civilizing work they accomplished in swarming over a great part of the continent. It is possible, if not certain, that they were propagators of cultural elements borrowed from the peoples of Central America rather than original creators. Nevertheless, wherever they settled they formed centers of civilization whose radiance is undeniable. In the whole region east of the Andes where ceramics of fine quality flourished or still flourish, one can suspect the existence or influence of an Arawak tribe. Is proof wanted? On the banks of the Amazon, from the mouth to the tributaries of its upper course, one finds at each step remains of a pottery with great richness of ornamentation and varied forms; wherever the spade has brought these remains to light, history attests to the presence, present or past, of an

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 [439] they have not done it any more for some years and sell them
 to the Spanish for the shoddy goods the latter give them in
 exchange. Indeed, they consider it more profitable to sell
 them for objects they need than to eat them. Their cupidity
 is such that there is no year when they do not go out to make
 war in the plains, with great trouble and at the risk of their
 lives, solely to procure prisoners. Among these Indians there
 are some individuals so rich that in addition to clothes of
 cloth and silk they have silver dishes, a service which costs as
 much as 500 marcs. Without counting a great number of horses
 saddled and bridled, with good harnesses, and all kinds of
 weapons which they owe to the thefts and plundering they do
 in the course of these unjust and pernicious wars. Up to the
 present no one has been able to bridle their cruelty or stop the
 disorder and insolence of these people. They have committed
 many offenses and lacked respect for the royal Power, taking up
 arms against Francisco de Toledo, who was viceroy of this
 kingdom. Besides, they have killed and stolen from the Spanish
 and have inflicted outrages of all kinds on them, depopulating
 villages, killing and pillaging the fields and farms of the
 vassals of His Majesty who live on these frontiers of Tarija,
 Paspaya, Pilaya, Tomina, and Mizque, and the government of
 Santa-Cruz de la Sierra." (Díaz de Guzmán, pp. 30-31.)

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 [131] "The Chiriguana (sic) live near these valleys (Tomina and
 Lagunilla) in warm mountains covered with trees where horses
 can scarcely walk. They are not natives of this country but
 foreigners come from Río de la Plata. The language is the
 same and does not differ from it in any way... The Indians
 toward whom they are most hostile inhabit a province behind
 these mountains, a very flat land lacking water, which is
 called Llano de Manso or the province of the Chané. These
 Chané are inoffensive people but of good tendencies, of a
 more congenial appearance and a better nature than the
 Chiriguana. The latter have eaten more than 60,000
 of them, and I do not believe I am saying very many, for these
 plains were very heavily populated. At present there are only a
 few Indians, and as they have no one to defend them, these

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1927. Second edition. Vol. 2: Réplica a la exposición del Señor Ministro de Bolivia Dr. Don Ricardo Mujía por el Plenipotenciario del Paraguay Don Fulgencio R. Moreno /A reply to the exposition of the Minister of Bolivia, Dr. Don Ricardo Mujía, by the Plenipotentiary of Paraguay, Don Fulgencio R. Moreno/. Asunción, 1929. Cited in what follows: Moreno II. Pages 81-84 and 89-91.

4. Moreno II, pp. 84-89.

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is reproduced a document which, I believe, serves to clear up this much discussed point. This is the report that Father Alcaya, Curate of Mataca, wrote for the Viceroy of Peru, the Marquis of Montes Claros. This report says that the Inca in Peru, before the Spaniards came to Paraguay, commissioned one of his descendants named Guacane to conquer the llanos of Grigota. Guacane's project was quite successful, especially because he had been well received by the great cacique Grigota, who reigned over this province. With the aid of his brother Condori, who was sent after him and to whom was entrusted the exploitation of the mines of Aypurun, he obtained a great deal of gold and silver in the country. The natives respected him and he employed them in tilling maize fields and helped them in hunting. Through the Indians of the llanos rumors of the wealth of the brothers, Guacane and Condori, reached the ears of the Guaraní in Paraguay, who recruited a force of 8,000 Indians and came in three divisions with their women and children, westward from the Xaraye. Of the 8,000 Guaraní, 1,000 remained in the province of Itatim; 2,000 marched against the Inca Mango and were destroyed until they were reduced to a few by the Peruvians. The largest division, 5,000 Indians, first marched to the region of Santa Cruz de la Sierra, and there they subjugated the humble and-unwarlike people of that region. /Plates I-II appear here. / /5/ They remained

[Text Continues on P. 10]

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there for one winter, sending out their spies to the Llanos of Grigota, where King Guacane was resting without care with his men. Unexpectedly one night the Guaraní surprised the King and his men, more than 20,000 Indians, and killed many, among them King Guacane. Grigota, the previous ruler of this country, was seriously wounded. From there the Guaraní victors set out toward the cordillera where Condori, the dead king's brother, was exploring the mines. Leaving their women and children at the foot of the cordillera with a guard, they climbed the mountain and on the following night killed the miners and captured Capitan Condori. The Guaraní then found the fortresses of Guanacopampa and Savaypatta abandoned by their garrisons. In Savaypatta they found only the women of the Incas, whom they took with them as prisoners. They also found a great deal of gold on Aypurun Mountain. After these successes the Guaraní established themselves in the cordillera, where they also remained in the following period. The Guaraní won another victory over the Peruvians when they overcame Capitán Lucana, whom the Inca had charged with rebuilding the fortification of Cerro de Aypurun. The Guaraní came out to meet the Peruvians and, at a short distance, smashed them and killed more than 6,000 of them. But after that their triumphal march against the Peruvians came to an end. Retiring to their headquarters on the Cordillera, the Indians gathered together by Grigota prepared a surprise for them which had complete success. Five hundred Guaraní were killed and 200 fell prisoner and were taken to Cuzco, where they were condemned by the Inca to suffer death by cold on the snow-capped peaks of the Andes.

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Father Alcaya's report is of much interest because it provides us with two important clues about the first immigration of the Guaraní. The report tells us about the death of King Guacane. According to Alvar Núñez, this king was still alive when Alejo García returned from his expedition to Peru (5).

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It thus follows that the battles between the Peruvians and the Guaraní described in Father Alcaya's report and the settling of the Guaraní on the cordillera must have taken place after García's expedition. An even more certain clue is given us by a passage in the report which mentions the name "Mango Inga" (6). The following is said there: The Xaraye "gave them

6. Moreno II. p. 86.

more definite news of the señores and showed them silver clasps and small silver rings for their bows, which King Guacane had sent them from Grigota, scarcely 100 leagues away, and similarly gave them certain news of Mango Inga, who was not resting after his new conquest toward the north and the east, but was hastening to put into effect and overrun the land with his good government." Mango Inga was the legitimate successor of the Inca Huascar, who had been killed by his brother Atahualpa, whom Pizarro, at his request, had helped to realize his claims to the throne and with whom he entered the Inca capital on November 15, 1533. This Inca Manco died after his variable battles with the Spaniards in the year 1544. According to this, the battles between the Peruvians and the Guaraní and the first settlement of the Guaraní on the crests of the cordillera in the west of the Paraguayan Chaco, which was contemporaneous with those battles, must have occurred between 1533 and 1544, and probably at the beginning of this period of time, because the last years of Inca Manco's life were much taken up with his battles against the Spaniards. According to Dr. Manuel Domínguez' opinion (7), García's expedition took

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7. Dr. Manuel Domínguez: "Paraguay-Bolivia. Cuestión de límites." Lectures. Asunción, 1927, p. 11. Cf. Moreno II, p. 84.

place between 1524 and 1526. This is very much in accord with the fact that the Guaraní, who through García's expedition had learned of the riches of Perú, and beyond that had received reports of the riches of the country belonging to the brothers /6/ Guacane and Condori through the Indians of the llanos, determined about ten years later to emigrate in large numbers, accompanied by their women and children, to this rich land. We must then fix the first settlement of the Guaraní in the regions in the west of the Paraguayan Chaco as having taken

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648 place after García's expedition. But it is possible that in the interval, and perhaps also before García's expedition, the Guaraní might have made smaller forays to the western regions "to the land within," as is said in the report of Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca. Doubtless it is one of these forays that is dealt with in the description given to Alvar Núñez by a Guaraní who had lived among the Charayes. The Indians of his generation, that is, the Guaraní of Itatí, "sent out a great call and held a gathering of Indians of the whole land, and they went to the land and the settlement of the land within." They made war upon the Indians of this land and took from them the sheets and jewels that they had of gold and silver, despoiled many towns, and killed many Indians. But afterward their adversaries joined together, attacked them in great number, and killed nearly all of them. The rest fled into the mountains (8). On the sixth day after his departure

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8. Moreno II, p. 86. Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca, Comentarios historicos, N. 35, pp. 100, 102, and 103.

from Xarayes, Alvar Núñez met some of those Indians who had fled to the desert after their defeat. Some of them, whose age Alvar Núñez calculated to be 35, stated that they were unable to give any information about the route which the Guaraní had then followed in their foray, because they had been very young at the time. Following this information, we must suppose that this unsuccessful foray on the part of the Guaraní to the west must have taken place in the year 1543. Between the expedition of Alvar Núñez and that of the Portuguese Alejo García, which, according to Dr. M. Domínguez, took place between 1524 and 1526, there is a period of about 20 years, and Alvar Núñez could only guess at the age of those Indians who said that they had still been very young at the time of the said foray. Thus this foray might have taken place, according to what is ascertained from the clues based on the age of those

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174 Indians, either before or after García's expedition. But in any
175 case, this foray with which we are dealing is not that great
167 Guaraní expedition against Guacane and his brother Condori,
● 648 since it is related in the document cited that these Guaraní,
C after their victorious battles against Guacane and Condori, had
[101] settled on top of the Sierra, where they also remained after
their defeat by Grigota, henceforth being called by the
Peruvians by the name Chiriguano. The Guaraní who made the
foray to which Alvar Núñez refers were almost all wiped out
by their enemies, who were probably Chaco Indians, and only
a few survivors escaped, taking refuge in the desert through
which they had previously passed.

Ce In Puerto de los Reyes, Irala received from a Chané cacique
[173] who spoke Guaraní the information "that in times past, before
[648] García had come from Brazil to the said Guaraní, a great
gathering of the said Guaraní was held in the port that they call
Itatin in order to go to search for metal" (9). On this occasion

9. Moreno II, p. 91.

the Guaraní passed through the lands of the Chané and
destroyed their houses. Also in this statement of the Chané
cacique nothing is said about a permanent settlement of the
Guaraní in the west. Rather it says that the Guaraní wanted
to "search for" metal. Thus we are also dealing here with a
Guaraní foray.

Gi The Guaraní expeditions and emigrations described above
175 were from the beginning connected with hostile contacts with
648 the various native groups of the lands through which they
Gi passed. In all the regions where the Guaraní met other Indians,
[567] they devastated their camps /toldería/ /7/ and carried off
[729] with them as slaves all the inhabitants who had not been
killed in the fighting. They were the enemies of all and
were hated by all. The Chané in particular, described as
C peaceful and unwarlike, suffered their acts of violence. When
[648] the Guaraní who had emigrated to the west after their defeat
[81] by Grigota had settled permanently on the cordillera, they

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G1 continued defeating the neighboring Indians and especially
175 those of the llanos, and they took off with them many of these
● 648 as slaves to serve them as auxiliaries in other forays. When
[567] Nuflo de Chaves came to the cordillera, the Chiriguano were
[127] coming to make war upon the Indians of Poxo or of Misque,
but Nuflo de Chaves upset their arrival and made them break
off their hostilities with those Indians and the others of the
frontier. (10) In 1560 the violent actions of the Chiriguano

10. Moreno II, p. 77.

against the tribes in their vicinity forced the viceroy of Peru
to send Captain Andrés Manso to that region in order to found
a town there, thus establishing a defense against the incursions
of these Indians (11). The report of the Corregidor of Tomina,

11. Moreno II, p. 261.

Don Juan Arce Alvendin, made in 1618, informs us that the
Chiriguano at first lived in peace with Andrés Manso, but
later counseled the Chané who had been pacified by Manso to
rebel against the Spaniards, and they killed Captain Manso
and the rest of the Spaniards of the new town. They took over
the land, subjecting the Chané and making them serve as slaves.
In the statement of Sebastian Perez Chamoso in 1571 (12), the

12. Moreno II, pp. 106-107.

act of violence of the Chiriguano against the Yanacona and
Chicha Indians are mentioned, and it is said that they took
Chicha Indians as slaves. In the Decree of the Royal Audiencia
in which it was resolved that war was to be waged against
the Chiriguano in the year 1583, there is mentioned among
many other misdeeds of the Chiriguano the fact that they had
also usurped and devastated the lands of the Llanos and the
Chané Indians (13). By continually enslaving the Indians of the

13. Moreno II, p. 104.

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17 cont. / By continually enslaving the Indians of the subjugated tribes, the Chiriguano by the end of the 16th century already had numerous subjects and auxiliaries in their wars. Most of the Tamacocies (later called Chamacoco) and the Chané were among these, and if other documents of 1583 and 1584 relate that the Tamacocies, the Xores, the Mares, and the Yuracares were their allies, it is probable that this was a case of such Indians violently subjugated and used as auxiliaries in war (14). While the Tamacocies (Chamacoco)

14. Moreno II, pp. 72 and 73.

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were subsequently emancipated from their Chiriguano conquerors and emigrated to the east, most of the Chané, who formerly were a very populous nation, remained in subjugation for a long time (15). Because of the poor treatment that the

15. Moreno II, p. 249.

Chiriguano normally accorded them, there was always a contrast between the two nations, and the Chané preferred to be dependent on the Spaniards rather than remain in slavery to the hated Chiriguano (16). According to Corregidor Tomina's report

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16. Moreno II, p. 250.

in 1618, already mentioned in what has been written above, the relationship between the Chiriguano population and the Chané population was such that the number of pure Chiriguano was smaller than the number of their subjects. According to the estimate made in this connection, the population of the Chiriguano of the Cordillera consisted of 1,500 pure Chiriguano, among whom were distributed 10,000 Chané. Among the 400 Chiriguano of the province of Machareti were distributed 5,000 Chané slaves. Yet for several centuries the Chané must have remained in harsh slavery to the Chiriguano until, in the second half of the 19th century, the formidable resistance of the Chiriguano was broken, and, after a severe blow,

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they definitively lost their independence, being left subject to the whites (17). /8/ From this time also the Chané freed

17. Moreno II, pp. 253 and 254.

themselves from the oppression of their old masters, forming their own separate towns in the midst of their former masters (18).

18. Father Alejandro Corrado in the year 1883. In Moreno II, p. 254.

In addition, the final insurrection of the Chiriguano in the year 1890 was put down by the Bolivians; and for that reason the situation of the Chané was not modified, and so it is that the explorer Erland v. Nordenskiöld found them still under the same conditions (19).

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19. Erland Nordenskiöld: Indianerleben. El Gran Chaco (Südamerika /Indian Life. The Gran Chaco (South America)/. Leipzig, 1912, pp. 148 ff. Cited in what follows: Nord 1.

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Having described above the history of Chiriguano relations with the ancient Peruvians and the other Indian tribes, we have yet to deal also with their relations with the whites, that is, with the Spaniards or Bolivians, who little by little occupied their territory. We must stress in the first place the fact that the first whites who came to their territory and to the adjacent llanos were not any novelty to them, since even before their emigration the Chiriguano had met these people in their native land between the upper Paraná River and the Paraguay. Because of the initial attitude of the Guaraní on meeting the conquistadors, it is evident that both parties had the same aim, that of getting rich from the wealth of the rich lands of the west, of which they had heard. In order to attain

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this common end, the Guaraní had first favored the conquistadors, giving them important information about the rich land and the ways to get there, and placing themselves at their disposal as auxiliaries in war. According to Guzman, the Portuguese Alejo García took with him 2,000 of these Guaraní from the Paraguay on his expedition to Peru, and if Guzman says that that expedition of García's was the cause of the subsequent expedition of the Guaraní to the west and of the emigration of a great number of them to the western regions of the Paraguayan Chaco, we ought not to reject this opinion, limiting it only in that sense that García's expedition might have been one of the causes of that emigration. When Nuflo de Chaves on his expedition later met the Guaraní of the cacique Vanbagueazu, they received him in a friendly way, oriented him with reference to the rich land and the routes there, and gave him companions for his trip (20).

20. Moreno II, p. 55.

The first of the conquistadors whom the Guaraní met after their emigration to the Cordillera, henceforth called the Chiriguano of the Cordillera, was Captain Domingo de Irala. According to Father Alcaya's report, when Irala arrived in these regions, he sent a Guaraní of his council to make overtures to the Chiriguano Indians, and in what follows the report says literally: "... and many of them came to offer him peace." But in spite of this peace, the Chiriguano did not wish to show him the gold mines and also kept Captain Condori, whom they had captured in their expedition against the Peruvians and whom they now turned over to Captain Irala, as an expert, from finding out anything about the mines (21).

21. Moreno II, p. 92.

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In 1560 the two conquistadors, Nuflo de Chaves and Andrés Manso, arrived in the Chiriguano region in the Vitupue Province (22). In Gabriel Paniagua de Loayza's letter

22. Moreno II, p. 264.

to the Royal Audiencia in 1584, we learn that the Chiriguano of the Sierra, when Nuflo de Chaves arrived for the first time in their land, were about to make war on the Indians of Pocho or of Misque. As has already been mentioned above, Nuflo de Chaves upset their plans and made them cease hostilities (23).

23. Moreno II, p. 77.

Through the division of territories that took place later between Nuflo de Chaves and Andrés Manso, the former received the /9/ northern territories and the latter the southern ones. While Nuflo de Chaves had to deal principally with the Guaraní Itatines, later called Itatines-Guarayú, who had emigrated into those regions located more to the north and who in a little while killed the valiant conquistador, it was from the beginning Andrés Manso's mission to arrange relationships with the Chiriguano of the Sierra and to put an end to their violent acts. At first Manso managed to enter into peaceful relations with most of the Chiriguano and to put them in service as vassals; but it seems that they were involved from the very beginning in the differences that existed between Nuflo de Chaves and Andrés Manso. A document of 1501, the "Testimonio del Escribano Francisco Gallego /Testimony of the Clerk Francisco Gallego/" (24), gives interesting comments

24. Moreno II, pp. 273 and 274.

upon this matter. He says that in 1560 a Chiriguano Indian came as a delegate of the cacique Bitupue and other caciques to Nuflo de Chaves to complain about Andrés Manso's conduct and at the same time to ask him what they should do. While

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Nuflo de Chaves, as has been mentioned, had prohibited the Chiriguano from continuing their acts of violence upon the other Indians, a short time later Manso made them join up to go to war against the Indians of the llanos. The Chiriguano, having learned of Captain Manso's intentions, all returned to their old ways. Manso again called them to go to war against the llanos Indians, and he took with him several Chiriguano caciques. When it seemed to him that they were taking him along a wrong path, he killed a Chiriguano Indian and ordered another one's hand cut off. He also killed a messenger of the cacique Botipue. We learn from this letter that the hostility which shortly thereafter broke out in the peaceful relations between the Chiriguano and Andrés Manso, and which cost considerable effort, expense, and sacrifice to the Spaniards and later to the Bolivians, was motivated, at least in great part, by the violent acts of the first whites who had relations with these Indians. This guilt of the Spaniards in the continual hostilities with the Chiriguano was frankly admitted by the Maestro General of the Province, Don Salvador Pasit, in the year 1778 (25).

25. Moreno II, p. 241.

He sent an order to all the soldiers that they suspend their activities against the Chiriguano, stating that the attitude of the Chiriguano was provoked by the introduction of the Spaniards into their lands, in which they had established estancias and herds. The beginning of the hostilities between the Spaniards and the Chiriguano was due to the latter, who suddenly attacked the town of Condorillo, or Santo Domingo de la Nueva Rioja, founded by Andrés Manso, and killed the latter, together with all the other Spaniards, and burned the town (26).

26. Moreno II, p. 281.

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● The same fate befell the town of Barranca founded by Nuflo de Chaves and Captain Miguel Martin, and their men in the town of Lagunilla. Moreover, nine of Nuflo de Chaves' men, as well as Captain Pedro de Castro, who had been charged with rebuilding the destroyed town of Santo Domingo de Nueva Rioja, were killed (27). The attacks and robberies of the Chiriguano

27. Moreno II, p. 114.

against the Spanish settlers were so frequent and continual at the end of the 16th century that they were in constant danger, and communications between the several larger towns were quite difficult (28). The various Chiriguano factions had

28. Moreno II, pp. 102-104, 106, and 107.

divided among themselves the land where they were to make the attacks (29). The expedition of the Viceroy Don Francisco

29. Moreno II, p. 120.

de Toledo, with many people and much equipment and at great expense, had no success whatsoever (30). The Chiriguano

30. Moreno II, p. 114.

continued robbing and attacking. From time to time occasional expeditions were sent to punish them, which, in passing, burned a few rancherias and maize fields /10/ and killed some of them (31), but they never had a decisive success, and this

31. Moreno II, pp. 116-118.

situation still continued for two centuries in an almost unchanging form (32). But despite these hostilities, there were

32. Moreno II, p. 273.

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some relations between the Chiriguano and the Spaniards from the earliest times. According to the Relación de la Anua de la Compañía de Jesús /Annual Report of the Company of Jesus/ for the year 1596, there had been obtained from Potosí and the Charcas many ways and means for bringing them toward peace, considering the very little hope of pacifying them by arms (33) and, according to the same report,

33. Moreno II, p. 102 /the first figure of this page number is missing in the original text and has been supplied here on the basis of a previous citation./

already at that time some Spaniards were going in and out of there to deal with them, and also the Chiriguano were coming both to Potosí and to the Charcas for the same purpose. In addition, Techo, who wrote his Historia de la Provincia del Paraguay in the second half of the 17th century, relates that the Chiriguano sold their prisoners of war to the Spaniards. "They lost no opportunity to devote themselves to this business; they competed with the Spaniards themselves" (34).

34. Moreno II, p. 237.

According to a communication from Escribano Mosquera in 1573 (35), there were already some Spaniards living among the

35. Certification of Escribano Mosquera.
According to Moreno II, p. 115.

Chiriguano at that time. This gentleman had heard of two Spaniards and a mestizo among them, who were probably prisoners of war.

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At the end of the 18th century relations between the Chiriguano and the Spaniards modified to the point that from this time on the mission managed to propagate the faith somewhat more among the Chiriguano. In 1779 the Intendente of Cochabamba, Don Tomás Leso, after a bitter struggle, defeated the Saypurú faction, which was the one most feared. Later the reduction of Florida was formed on the western shore of the Guapay, with some hundreds of families who had not assisted the Saypurú faction and so, fearing their vengeance, followed the Spaniards (36). Several years later a few other

36. Moreno II, p. 244.

missions were founded by the Franciscans, together with the fort at Saypurú, as a defense for the missions. But by 1799 the Chiriguano had attacked six of these missions, devastating them completely (37). A strong campaign against the

37. Moreno II, p. 245.

Chiriguano, directed by Intendente Viedma in person, had not had any success at all, the army of 2,000 men having turned back when their officers were killed by the enemy. In spite of this the missionaries repaired the destroyed reductions (38).

38. Moreno II, p. 246.

According to the notes of Father Antonio Comajuncosa (39),

39. Moreno II, pp. 246 and 247. A historical manifesto of what the missionaries of Tarija have wrought.

there already existed in the year 1810, 18 missions among the Chiriguano in the southern zone of the Pilcomayo River.
OOO Through the influence of the missions and through both violent

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/10 cont./ ^{Through the} influence of the missions and through both violent and peaceful means of the Spaniards and, later, by the Bolivians, conterminous with the Chiriguano, little by little most of the Chiriguano came over to their side, so that the power of the Chiriguano tribe, in another time so strong and invincible, was weakened (40). Thus it happened that in

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40. José Cardúz: Las Misiones Franciscanas entre los infieles de Bolivia /The Franciscan Missions among the Infidels of Bolivia/. Barcelona, 1886. From Moreno II, pp. 248 and 249.

1875 the inhabitants of the neighboring provinces were able to give a final blow to the last segments of independent Chiriguano, subjugating them completely and obliging the defeated factions who refused to submit to disperse into other lands, some of them taking refuge in the Chaco among the Toba and Tapieté (40) /see footnote 40 above/. Nevertheless, this was not the final fight between the Chiriguano and the whites, as Cardúz supposed in 1885. A part of the Chiriguano in 1890 attempted one last rebellion against the Bolivians. About 5,000 Indians gathered on the Boynove plain near Curuyuqui, fought for a whole day against the Bolivians, who were assisted by some thousand Indians of the same tribe. At nightfall the heated battle had not yet been decided, but in the /11/ night the Indians lost their spirit in the face of the superiority of modern arms and left their trenches (41). Also,

41. Nord. 1, p. 168.

after this defeat one of the caciques, named Cayahari, preferred to take flight rather than surrender to the Bolivians. They say that he settled in the area of a large lake far from the whites (42).

42. Nord. 1, p. 161.

431 crowds of soldiers in their service, because they
 555 were distinguished for dexterity and assiduity
 622 in depredation; the same men, when decrepit
 with extreme age, inadequate to undertaking
 excursions, and consequently poor, found none
 but relations continue in their hordes.

A I must not omit to mention that the Abipones
 562 do not scorn to be governed by women of noble
 622 birth; for at the time that I resided in Para-
 guay, there was a high-born matron, to whom
 the Abipones gave the title of *Nelafeycatè*, and
 who numbered some families in her horde. Her
 origin, and the merits of her ancestors, procured
 A her the veneration of others. The Catholic
 622 kings themselves, and their governours, ac-
 648 knowledge the rank of the caciques of every
 nation, and dignify them with the title of nobi-
 lity, prefixing the word *Don* to their names,
 according to the Spanish fashion. It is also
 customary, throughout the whole of Spanish
 America, for the Indian caciques, after they
 have received baptism, and sworn allegiance
 to the Catholic king, to retain, and trans-
 mit to their posterity the dominion they
 possessed when savage, over the savages sub-
 ject to their power: which is also observed
 amongst the Guaranies, with this provision,
 however, that the caciques themselves and the
 Indians under their authority, are obliged to

HISTORY OF THE ABIPONES.

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obey the corregidor, and other magistrates of the town. In every Guarany town, there are a number of caciques, who, if men of abilities, are often promoted to the office of magistrates, that the Indians may not suspect the Europeans of despising their nobility. There were five caciques in the town of St. Joachim, over which I presided. Their names were Don Ignatius Paranderi, Don Miguel Yeyù, Don Marco Quirakerà, Don Joseph Xavier, and Don Miguel Yazukà; which last performed the office of corregidor for many years. Though a native of the woods, he was both exceedingly attached to Christian discipline, and intrepid in guarding it; indeed he was above all praise; which is certainly very uncommon and wonderful, as, to say the truth, we have often found the caciques more stupid than the common people, and less skillful in the public employments of the town. Who, therefore, can blame the Abipones, if, setting aside the privilege of birth, they elect a cacique, who, though of obscure origin, is distinguished for military valour?

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